WHAT HITLER WANTS

BY

E. O. LORIMER

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DEDICATED

IN SORROW AND MOURNING TO THE MEMORY OF

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

WHOSE HEROISM, STEADFASTNESS, AND SELF-RESTRAINT DURING THE DARK DAYS OF SEPTEMBER 1938 HAVE WON HER PEOPLE A FAME AS IMPERISHABLE AS THE INFAMY OF HER FOES AND THE HUMILIATION OF HER FRIENDS



" Christianity—and this is its greatest merit—has occasionally calmed the brutal German lust for battle, but it cannot destroy that savage joy And when once that restraining talisman, the Cross, is broken . the old stone gods will rise from unremembered ruins and Thor will leap to life at last and bring down his gigantic hammer on the Gothic cathedrals . .

" This is no mere fantasy . . . The thought always precedes the act as the lightning the thunder .

" Never doubt it; the hour will come "

HEINRICH HEINE, 1834

.

" There has arisen a new authority as to what Christ and Christianity really are—that is, Adolf Hitler . .

" Adolf Hitler . . is the true Holy Ghost "

HANS KERRL, *Reichsminister for Church Affairs*

" We . . rise again under ' the sign which never yet failed us,' the cross of the Great Stone Age' the ancient most sacred Swastika "

JOHANN VON LEERS,

Geschichte auf rassischer Grundlage, 1936

(' History on a Racial Basis ')

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"THE above sentences would appear monstrous, nay rank blasphemy, to every Englishman and Englishwoman in the world—if they ever saw them."

These words of Ewald Banse's are significant. They conclude a chapter which gives minute plans with maps for a fivefold invasion of England after she has been cajoled into sitting back and letting Holland and Belgium be annexed by Germany, and France annihilated. Banse was made the first Professor of Military Science (Wehrwissenschaft) in 1933 on the strength of his book *Raum und Volk* (Space and People), in which these words occur. "We confess," he says, "that it gives us pleasure to meditate on the destruction that must sooner or later overtake this proud and seemingly invincible nation, and to think that this country which was last conquered in 1066 will once more obey a foreign master."

British ignorance of the German language is convenient to the Germans. They can write and teach what they will, secure in the knowledge that scarcely one Briton in ten thousand—and apparently no Cabinet Minister—could read it if he would, and that still fewer will read it even if they can.

Not a thing that Hitler has done, not even the official breaches of the Munich Agreement and the seizure of territories beyond even the Godesberg demands, but is foreshadowed in the modern German Bible, *Mein Kampf*.

The fact that the average Briton has but the haziest idea of National Socialist thought and ambition has already cost Europe dear Not content with trusting to our inertia, gratifying and reassuring though it is, Germany has taken immense pains to prevent the truth from filtering through to us

The "authorised" English edition would seem to have been drastically edited for British consumption, with many of the more vital teachings of the Fuhrer omitted An inquiry made by my publishers as to the circumstances in which these omissions were made elicited the reply that the publishers could not discuss the private affairs of one of their authors with another publisher To quote the Duchess of Atholl 'The English edition is only about one third of *Mein Kampf* It unblushingly mistranslates passages of which an accurate rendering would have been disconcerting to English readers No one therefore who reads *My Struggle* can have any idea of the foreign policy set forth in the original' [1] The American edition is said to be no better An unabridged edition published in France was suppressed at Hitler's instance under International Copyright Law In short, the Germans want to keep the civilised world in ignorance till it is too late

When a letter written by Mr Wickham Steed to *The Times* called attention to Ewald Banse's *Raum und Volk*; and it was obvious that its doctrines might alarm British public opinion, the book was at once banned and disowned—but Banse retained his professorship

[1] *Friends of Europe Pamphlets* No 38

and continues to teach and write as before. Happily, an enterprising British publisher had hurried to Germany and secured the translation rights, so Banse's *Space and People* under the title: *Germany, Prepare for War!* may be read in the admirable translation of Alan Harris. The publishers' Introduction is a most illuminating document, showing the lengths to which Germans were prepared to go to prevent us from understanding what their ambitions are and the methods by which they propose to achieve them.

In the profound belief that the Cause of Justice and Right can triumph only if the man and woman in the street learn the truth at last, I offer them this modest volume. I know Germany and the Germans; I feel that the best contribution I can make to rearmament and A.R.P. is to put before the English reader exactly what the Führer said in 1926 and is saying still, exactly what his henchmen, from the Minister for Culture and Professor of Military Science down to the teachers in every primary school in the Reich, are faithfully and servilely echoing.

I make no attempt to compete with the admirable books of Wickham Steed, Seton-Watson, Edgar Mowrer, Douglas Reed, Konrad Heiden, Professor Roberts, or Aurel Kolnai; I commend them most heartily to my readers. Mine is the humbler task of examining at first hand a couple of the books which have become the Bible, Creed, and Thirty-nine Articles of the Nazi faith, of then giving a brief indication of how these dogmas and these plans of salvation are forced down the throats of every man, woman, and child in

Greater Germany, and finally of showing how they work out in practice.

All discussions of and allusions to *Mein Kampf* are based on the two-in-one-volume edition of 1938, to which the page references also refer. Of this book there are over four million copies in circulation: it is a text-book in all schools, colleges, and training camps; a copy must be presented to every non-Jewish couple married in Germany, and a copy must lie on the writing-table of every official throughout the Reich.

Since I am writing for those who do not read German, I have purposely quoted corroborative matter as far as possible only from books, papers, and pamphlets already available in English or about to appear in English. The sole important exception is Gerhart Seger's *Oranienburg* (Verlagsanstalt Graphia, Karlsbad, 1934), on which I have drawn for part of Chapter XII.

E. O. LORIMER.

WELWYN GARDEN CITY.
October, 1938.

PART I

THE PRINCIPLES OF *MEIN KAMPF*

"Herr Hitler's *Mein Kampf* deserves the closest study by all who would understand the Nazi movement in Germany and its bearing on the international situation. . . . Since 1933, German action in foreign affairs has followed very closely the lines laid down in the Nazi Bible, and it is at any rate probable that in the next five years the objectives and methods of German action will be those very frankly indicated by a writer who as Dictator can carry out his own ideas."

SIR CHARLES GRANT ROBERTSON, *April* 1936.
(*Vice-Chancellor, University of Birmingham.*)

"A study of *Mein Kampf* is even more essential to-day than in April 1936."

The Same, *May* 11, 1938.

. . . Germany is marching "with *Mein Kampf* in one hand and in the other the Sword, for her advance as the new World Power."

GOEBBELS, at Weimar, *October* 30, 1938.

CHAPTER I

FIRST PRINCIPLES OF POLITICS

THE opening chapters of *Mein Kampf* give a brief but significant sketch of Adolf Hitler's early life. Even the non-German reader could not fail to divine that the facts have been considerably touched up in order to create the desired Fuhrer-legend in the minds of the German people. For more faithful biographical details than Hitler has chosen to reveal, the curious are referred to Konrad Heiden's *Hitler*, to Rudolf Olden's *Hitler, the Pawn*, and to Professor Roberts's *The House that Hitler Built*.

As a boy Adolf Hitler lighted on a book about the Franco-Prussian War. The tale stirred his blood and set him wondering why the Germans of Austria had not stood side by side with their brothers in race and speech across the border. It was here for the first time revealed to him that "not every German was fortunate enough to belong to Bismarck's Reich." His admiration for Prussia dated from that hour, and, unmindful of Sadowa and the wrongs Prussia had inflicted on his native Austria (if indeed he had ever heard of these things), he developed a fierce race-patriotism and a bitter hostility to his Austrian compatriots who were not of German speech.

He represents himself as having been from early days an omnivorous reader of history, though in fact the internal evidence of his writings and speeches betray that his range of reading must have been very limited.

He asserts that from the first he adopted the principle that the art of reading consisted in seizing all the facts that appealed to him and discarding the rest This method may be sound enough when the student is guided by wisdom and love of truth; how dangerous it can be when applied by an immature boy inspired by passion and prejudice is sufficiently obvious

Hitler's formal schooling ceased at thirteen There followed a long period of idleness and loafing until his mother's death flung the young man out into an inhospitable world He spent five years in Vienna—years of extreme hardship and poverty—sometimes out of work, sometimes engaged as a casual labourer, and he resented his circumstances with all the social snobbishness of the very *petit bourgeois* and the bitterness of a man who believed himself to possess the makings of a great architect During these years of privation in cheap lodging and sordid doss-house, he fell foul of the Social Democrats, and developed a passionate and comprehensive hatred of them, devouring Socialist and Communist propaganda with loathing For all his boasting about the immense reading he crowded into the Vienna years and the profundity of the study he made of social problems and Marxist philosophy, there is no sign of his ever having read even *Das Kapital* Be that as it may, he himself is impressed by his own erudition, and this self-education of the Vienna years " formed the basis of a knowledge which I still draw on I have not needed to add much to what I then learnt, I have had to alter nothing " (21)

Thus before he was twenty-five Hitler had built up a

"philosophy of life" (Weltanschauung) which has *formed "the granite foundation" of all his subsequent* actions, and had convinced himself that Social Democrats, Marxists, and Jews were at the bottom of every ill that Austria was heir to and of every vice that flourished in the cosmopolitan capital.

In 1912 he quitted Vienna for Munich, drinking in with joy the air of a purely German city. He still had no small difficulty in earning his bread, but he found time to brood on Germany's foreign policy. He saw her population increasing in numbers. He arrived at *the conclusion that the only way to avoid future over*crowding was to secure more land for her expansion. Thus, even before the War, if we are to trust his own account of his mental processes, he had formulated the principles which now direct the policy of Greater Germany. These principles are not without interest for his neighbours.

"Nature knows no political boundaries . . . the strongest in courage and diligence is her favourite child to whom she promises the right to exist as master (das Herrenrecht des Daseins)" (147). A country's well-being depends on her possession of a sound peasant population. Most social evils are the result of a false balance between urban and rural life. Germany must strive to redress the balance, but "no one will willingly cede us the space we want . . . what is not voluntarily given us, the fist must simply take" (151).

As Hitler saw it, new land in the form of colonies would be of little use. Most spaces at all suitable for European habitation had already been annexed by

others and would have to be fought for It would therefore be better to fight for land in Europe fit for German settlement, and to this end alone Germany's foreign policy should be directed Hitler concluded that adequate space could be gained only "at the expense of Russia and the countries on her borders," that the German Empire of the future must follow in the footsteps of the Teutonic knights of old, "The German sword must win soil for the German plough to provide the nation with its daily bread" (151) It is worth noting that Hitler offers no suggestion as to what is to become of the dispossessed inhabitants of the spaces he covets, he gives no clue as to whether he proposes to exterminate them or merely to drive them out

The error of Germany's pre-War policy, which, in Hitler's eyes, was the ultimate cause of the catastrophe of 1914–18, was her failure to carry out this eastward thrust. Instead, she developed her trade and industry and sought to thrive by peaceful economic penetration, reckoning that what the Englishman had done the German also could do with the "added advantage of our quite definitely superior honesty" Instead of antagonising Britain by disputing her world markets, and challenging her sea power by the creation of a fleet, Germany could have sought an alliance with England for the support of her eastward drive In this connection Hitler states unequivocally that an alliance has no real foundation unless it is a fighting alliance, by which both partners hope to gain an extension of territory and power, and he later repeats "An alliance whose

object is not a future war is senseless and useless . . . alliances are only formed for fighting" (749)

Germany had nothing to gain by alliance with "the decaying corpse of the Austrian monarchy"; she should have been ruthless enough "to snatch the ten million of our blood brothers" from the then enfeebled Hapsburg grasp (155). The Austrian alliance constituted, in fact, a great source of weakness and danger to Germany, because the dual monarchy had many enemies, all of whom hoped to profit by her dismemberment.

The story of Prussia's rise to greatness continued to occupy young Hitler's thought. It seemed to him to prove that the heroic virtues rather than any economic consideration were the essential for the building of a State, and were more calculated to evoke the spirit of self-sacrifice: "A man will not give his life for a business but for an ideal" (168) The German Empire was to him a shining example of a State born of power politics and soldierly courage; how had the later Germany lost her sound political instinct? He pored over this riddle till he felt sure that he had found the answer. Germany's reason and instinct of self-preservation had been paralysed by the poison of Marxist philosophy Marxism, in his eyes, was inseparably bound up with Jewry; the annihilation of both was the only way to overcome this "world plague."

Here we light on one of the many lacunæ in Hitler's historical study. He did not know, or it was one of the inconvenient facts that he set himself to forget, that Marx was born and bred a Christian, and though of

Jewish race was a bitter anti-Semite, and that his disciple Engels, to whom the spread of Marxism was mainly due, was not a Jew, either by religion or by race.

When war broke out Hitler "gave thanks." Whatever nobler consideration may have inspired his gratitude to heaven, it is clear that war solved for the nonce his personal employment problem. He joined a Bavarian regiment as a volunteer, technically as an Austrian deserter. Political discussions with his comrades at the Front led him to the decision that he would devote his life, not to painting or architecture, but to politics. "I believe that I was very much in earnest" (192).

The loss of the war was a bitter blow to Hitler's national and racial pride, and a blow also to his personal *amour propre*. He had not the temperament that could look unpleasant facts in the face. It does not seem to have crossed his mind that Prussian power-politics, which he so passionately admired, and which had been so successful in Schleswig-Holstein, at Sadowa, and in the Franco-Prussian War, could have been tried once too often on a long-suffering Europe; still less could he conceive that there might be anything inherently wrong in blood and iron, mailed fist and rattling sabre.

Vienna had already taught him that the future of Germany was bound up with the defeat of Marxism; he was now convinced that Providence, "obeying the eternal law of retribution," had denied success to Germany's "victorious sword" because Germany had been weak enough to tolerate in her midst Marxists,

Jews, and Pacifists (terms which are used interchangeably) While the cream of Germany's youth was falling on the field of battle, the Government should at least have taken the opportunity to exterminate the vermin (das Ungeziefer) at home (186) He was often tormented at the Front by the thought that the war might have taken a different course if he himself had been in charge of the propaganda department (208), but he was "a nameless man, one amongst eight millions," and could do nothing but stay at his post and do his duty.

Now, however, the war was ended, everything was rotten in the State, and Adolf Hitler felt convinced that he was born to set it right March 1919 saw him back in Munich, and he was ordered to join a course of study for the Defence Force (Wehrmacht) He found many like-minded men amongst his fellow students, and they discussed the formation of a new political party, hammering out together the principles on which it should be based They thought of calling themselves the "Social Revolutionary Party" The three things that seemed to Hitler of paramount importance were to fight the Social Democrats, to secure the rights of the Workers, and to create a new purely German State He had not devoted much thought to Economics One of the lecturers at the Course was Gottfried Feder, and under his influence Hitler got to grips with problems of Capital, Exchange, International Finance, and at once became an enthusiast for Feder's theory that two kinds of capital must be distinguished ,pure Capital, the product of creative work, and false Capital, the artificial product of speculation Feder's lecture on Smashing

the Tyranny of Interest (Brechung der Zinsknechtschaft) provided yet another plank for the future party.

These lectures had further importance: at one of the ensuing discussions Hitler joined in the debate, and discovered that he was able to win the majority of the audience to his side. His success was observed, and a few days later he was appointed Education Officer (Bildungsoffizier) to a Munich regiment, with the opportunity to address larger audiences. He set to work to convert his hearers to his conception of true patriotism: with gratifying results. He had soon "nationalised" the regiment and got to know many who later formed the nucleus of the National Socialist movement.

One day he was detailed by the authorities to attend the meeting of what appeared to be a new political society and to report on its activities. In plain English he was employed by the Army as a spy. He thus made acquaintance with the "German Workers' Party," which held its meetings in a shabby little room in a shabby little inn. The treasurer reported that they possessed the sum of 7*s.* 6*d.* The party had many good intentions, but few principles, no programme, no stationery, no printed matter—not even a rubber stamp. The Committee consisted of six members. Hitler was invited to join. The decision was a fateful one. He certainly wanted to take up politics; equally certainly he had had no intention of harnessing his energies to any existing party. But the humble six could hardly be called a "party" in the ordinary sense; they were not yet tied up in rules or red tape or embarrassed by any

elaborate organisation Perhaps their invitation was a "call" After two days of distressing mental debate, Hitler took the plunge, and received a makeshift membership card bearing the number Seven

The new recruit to the Committee of the German Workers' Party—soon renamed the National Socialist German Workers' Party [1]—immediately put himself in charge of its propaganda, and set about drawing up the twenty-five points that were to embody its principles It was to be a party, not of the well to-do and complacent, but of the disappointed, restless, and unhappy, striking its roots deep into the lowest strata of the population The immediate question, as Hitler saw it, was not how to manufacture arms, but how to reawaken the spirit of Germany and the readiness of her people to bear arms, to kindle again the passion for Germany's independence and the belief that it could be re-won The imperative task, in short, was to "nationalise" the masses

The masses, in Hitler's view, were riddled with the infection of Communism untiringly preached by its devotees, and enforced by the Red Terror He had already formulated the theory that Social Democracy (which he undiscriminatingly equates with Communism) could be defeated only if another and more seductive doctrine were opposed to it, and "urged with equal brutality the opposition must learn to combat poison gas with poison gas" the terrorisation exercised by the Reds in workshop and factory would continue

[1] Die Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP)

to be successful until countered by "a similar but greater terror" (45, 46).

The new party hoped to enlist the sympathies of the mass of the workers, who must be assured of protection against the greed and oppression of the employer while not encouraged to make blackmailing demands. Appeal must be made to their emotions, remembering that "hate is more enduring than dislike" (371) and that they could only be thoroughly nationalised if their "international poisoners were exterminated" (372). If the new party was to accomplish the revolution at which it aimed, it could only do so by awakening "a fanaticism inspiring the masses and a hysteria impelling them forwards (ein die Masse beseelende Fanatismus und eine sie vorwärts treibende Hysterie)" (35).

The new movement was to be anti-parliamentary. In big things as in small, it was to be based on the principle of blind obedience to a leader wielding unlimited and unquestioned authority and accepting undivided responsibility. He would have the assistance of *working* committees, directly subordinate to him; there were to be no voting committees. The leader of the party would be elected to office at a general meeting of all the members, and the members of the movement would be free to call him to account and even to deprive him of office by a new election if they held that he had served the party ill or offended against its principles. I can recall no point in the history of Nazism at which Hitler offered himself for re-election.

The task of the leader would be no sinecure: "only a hero is fitted to be leader" (379); "the entry into the

Pantheon of History is not for skulkers (Schleicher) but for heroes" (100).

The aim of the new party was neither the restoration of a monarchy nor the maintenance of a republic, but the creation of a Germanic state, and its success would depend on the fanaticism and intolerance of its adherents (384), for the masses love "a ruler not a wooer" (die Masse liebt mehr den Herrscher als den Bittenden) (44), and gain more inner peace of mind from a doctrine which tolerates no rival than from any amount of freedom of thought. It must have rejoiced Hitler's heart and confirmed him in this opinion to hear the students of Berlin University chanting in chorus: "We spit upon Freedom!"[1]

Though nominally responsible at this point only for the propaganda of the young party, Hitler had obviously already earmarked the post of Leader (Fuhrer) for himself, and it is interesting to gather together the hints scattered through his book as to the qualities a leader should possess. We have already noticed that he must be a hero. No man should publicly engage in politics before thirty (Hitler's precise age in 1919), by which time he will have formed established principles and convictions which he should not have to alter. He must be infallible, for if a leader recognises his general

[1] Following Mowrer, and in deference to the decencies I thus translate "Wir scheissen auf die Freiheit!" The vulgarity of the expression is highly characteristic of the vocabulary affected by the Nazis. Von Wyl records that the whole speech of the New Germany stinks of byre, latrine, and brothel (*Ein Schweizer erlebt Deutschland*).

principles as false, he can only in honesty retire; he has lost the right to ask for the confidence of his compatriots; if he has erred once he may err again (73). It will be remembered that Hitler himself claimed to have attained this desirable infallibility before quitting Vienna for Munich, having in later life found "some things to add" but "nothing to alter" in his opinions (above, p. 15).

This demand that the ideal statesman should suffer from arrested development rings oddly in English ears; so many of our most valuable public figures have begun life as "the rising hope of the Tories" to end it as Liberals, or conversely have plunged into politics as Radicals to emerge in maturity as progressive Conservatives. With true British perversity, we even honour a man who acquires wisdom as he matures and who proclaims an honest change in his convictions.

A leader's most essential qualification is the power to move the masses (650) which can be best achieved by "the outstanding oratory of a dominating Apostle Nature" (die überragende Redekunst einer beherrschenden Apostelnatur) (532). With perhaps a touch of modesty Hitler points out that it often happens that an apparently unimpressive man turns out to be a born leader. A successful movement needs a theorist to draw up its programme, an organiser who is a good psychologist; agitators to work for it, and finally, a leader. The theorist is rarely a good organiser, still more rarely a good leader. Only once in centuries comes THE ONE, "the rarest thing that can be found on earth" (651), the great man who combines in his sole

person all the qualities of theorist, organiser, and leader The reader himself can draw the inference

As organiser of the infant party, Hitler forthwith se about procuring publicity For one of the early meet ings the members in person distributed eighty hand written invitations, on the fateful night there turned up only their seven selves They then got invitations typed and duplicated and distributed, and the attendance rose to 11–13 17–34 Raising a collection amongst their few and impoverished friends, they scraped together enough to hire a small hall capable of seating 150 by their then standards it seemed huge By seven o'clock there were 111 auditors Hitler was the second speaker, and he records the delight with which he again found his inner conviction justified he could speak In half an hour of impassioned oratory he succeeded in stimulating the audience to so much enthusiasm that the collection brought in a sum of three hundred marks riches Now they could afford to get their programme and pamphlets printed

The new born NSDAP began to attract attention, especially from the Marxists who looked with little favour on any attempt to seduce the workers from the Communist allegiance There was well founded fear that they would try to break up the NSDAP meetings by force, but the NSDAP had taken as its motto, " We shall meet with violence anyone who opposes us with violence ' (399)

February 24, 1920, was the date of the first really large public meeting The NSDAP had chosen red as their colour, with the express intention of provoking

ıe Communists. As the day drew near, the young ırganisers were full of the anxiety known to all who ımbark on similar ventures: perhaps no one would ıttend. The meeting was scheduled to begin at 7.30. Hitler entered the hall at 7.15, and to his joy found close on 2,000 people already assembled. Again he was the second speaker. Half the hall was filled with Communists and Independents bent on interruption, and determined to make short work of the meeting. But a handful of Hitler's war-comrades had held themselves in readiness, the interrupters were hurled out, and the speaker continued. After half an hour, applause drowned any remaining dissent. Hitler took the Twenty-Five Point Programme and expounded it thesis by thesis; the applause increased, and before the new-fledged orator sat down, the hall was filled with people "united in a new conviction, a new faith and a new will." Hitler went home exalted by the conviction that "a fire had been kindled, in the heat of which a sword would one day be forged . . . which will win life for the German people once again" (406).

The party that was to revolutionise Germany had found its leader and the leader had found his voice.

After this big success it was decided to hold similar meetings once a week and they continued to be packed. A great variety of subjects was handled: the war-guilt question, to which previously the general public had been indifferent; the peace treaties, etc. Finding that when he spoke of Versailles his opponents were wont to shout "What about Brest-Litovsk?" Hitler changed his text to "The Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Ver-

sailles," and succeeded in proving to his own satisfaction and amid the enthusiasm of his auditors, the "almost infinite humanity" of the former compared with the "inhuman cruelty" of the latter. "I had eradicated a great Lie and planted a Truth in its stead" (524).[1]

Within a couple of years Hitler had trained himself as a successful speaker at mass meetings, learning to employ just the amount of emotion and just the gesture required for his audiences, and had mastered the art of wresting the enemy's argument and turning it to his own advantage. He calculated that in two hours he could alter the convictions of 2,000 to 3,000 people. The Marxists had won their success by the spoken word; their indefatigable orators addressed the masses in trade unions, in taverns, and at mass demonstrations, and thus acquired knowledge and understanding of the human material they were working on. Their pamphlets and their newspapers were written, not by students sitting aloof in their studies, but by agitators with practical experience of speaking; and these "spoken

[1] A valuable analysis of the "War-guilt" question and the terms of Versailles and Brest-Litovsk will be found in Wheeler-Bennett: *Hindenburg, the Wooden Titan*, and *Brest-Litovsk, the Forgotten Peace*, and Seton-Watson: *Britain and the Dictators* Their careful marshalling of facts shows the nature and value of Hitler's "truth." By the treaty of Brest-Litovsk Russia lost 56 million inhabitants (almost one-third of her population), one-third of her railways, 73 per cent of her iron, 89 per cent. of her coal, and was to pay an indemnity of 6,000 marks, say £300 million sterling The "almost infinite humanity" is obvious. See also Douglas Reed's *Insanity Fair*

pamphlets" were extremely effective. The NSDAP must go one better.

Hitler made a very careful study of the psychology of audiences, noting that all sorts of factors come into play in emotional speaking, not least the time of day. The same speech, the same speaker, and the same theme have a totally different effect at ten in the morning and at seven in the evening. His experience showed that a 10 a.m. audience would remain icy, and that sober forenoon listeners strongly resented the attempt to subdue them to another's will. By evening he found that this natural resistance was weakened, and they were more easily overpowered by his oratory, i.e. his "poison gas" (see above, p. 22). It is characteristic of Hitler that he intensely admired Lloyd George's Limehouse eloquence, contending that a speaker must be judged solely by the effect he produces on the people and not by the matter of his speeches nor by the cold-blooded criticism of university professors.

National Socialist writings he considered as completely secondary: they had value only as ensuring that the teaching of the subordinate leaders of all ranks should be unified and uniform. Hence their importance for the detached student of Nazi teaching.

Mein Kampf itself is not so much a book as a "spoken pamphlet" of 781 pages. It is full of repetition, digression, emphasis, and passion, but it is an amazing feat of demagogic writing, and there is not a dull page in it. It is of the most vital importance for the understanding of contemporary Germany, for it is, and while Hitler lives it must remain, the yard-stick

by which every other utterance in Nazi Germany has to be measured, the standard to which every German thought has to conform

It would take a library to tabulate the mis-statements of which it is full, to refute the fallacies which abound on every page, the *suppressio veri*, the *suggestio falsi*, but what do the masses care for facts or fallacies? Hitler is the greatest demagogue of the century, probably the greatest demagogue of all time, a master of "the magic of the spoken word," which, as he affirms, has from the beginning been the agent that has set in motion the "great avalanches" of history (116)

I cannot perhaps better conclude this chapter than by appending a brief note I made after I had for the first time heard Hitler speak at one of his great Kundgebungs just before the November elections of 1932

"IN COLOGNE ON THE EVE OF THE POLL"

The meeting was to be in the great hall, the so-called Messehalle of the New Exhibition Buildings on the east of the Rhine It was due to begin at 8 30, doors to open at 7 p m As my tram crossed the Hohenzollern Bridge, it was escorted on both sides by a steady stream of people flowing east I arrived at 7 10, none too soon Five or six thousand people were already massed round the raised tribune that commanded the L shaped hall in both directions The immense building was well lighted and hung with the familiar scarlet flag, whose black swastika stands out startlingly from a circular white ground Huge slogans covered the walls

Germans, be one in Hitler !
Marxism must die that Germany may live !
Hitler for Freedom, Work, and Food !

The gangways in every direction were lined by upstanding young men of twenty to twenty-five, in the khaki uniform of the Storm Detachments. As the crowds poured in from various entrances, they were shepherded with courtesy and efficiency. Any momentary rush was quietly stemmed by Storm Troopers linked arm in arm, who diverted the overhasty newcomers into better channels. Three thousand were on duty.

Though chairs were packed so tight that the thinnest of us sat slightly edgeways, perfect good humour prevailed throughout the ranks. Diversions occurred when bodies of students or schoolboys or mercantile marines marched in to allotted seats in the galleries. Cheers greeted a file of bareheaded young women wearing the white blouses and black ties of the Women Staff. The central rows of seats were surrounded by a sea of standing people completely filling the floor space. These were almost entirely men; the proportion of men to women in the seats was roughly three to one.

While the crowds still continued to arrive, the Nazi bands played military music, and elderly neighbours whispered how these tunes recalled the days of long ago, and as they murmured: "Cavalry March of Frederick the Great," "Lützow's Wilde Verwegene Jagd," the tears were very near. Newsboys offered the latest copies of various Hitler journals, lads in uniform

brought flags and photographs for sale, and coins passed to and fro, quickly, quietly, as in a church.

The moments of the long wait flew by. Before 8.30 not one inch of space was left in any corner of the building. A universal stir: in filed the banners, two and two, of the local groups. Some forty of them, not a few hung with crape in memory of a murdered comrade, one standard wholly black in honour of the dead. Many had leaped to their feet till rhythmic cries of "Hinsetzen-hinsetzen!" (Sit down!) taken up all round, shamed them to their seats again. When the banners had been ranged round the platform, the bands struck up a mourning air, and the multitude stood with bared and bowed heads to the strains of—

I once had a good comrade
No better could you find . . .

in a silence as profound and moving as ours of Armistice Day.

"The Leader" was due, the atmosphere was tense. Someone stepped forward to announce that Herr Hitler had been speaking to-day, not only in Borchum, but also in Essen, and that his aeroplane would be an hour late. Not a quiver of disappointment, not a murmur of impatience, passed over the assembly as the maker of this unwelcome announcement proceeded ably to speak of the National Socialist movement, its aims and ideals, its relation to political parties.

I had the good fortune to be seated by a Nazi official, from whom I gleaned much. Hitler's favourite dog had been poisoned and Hitler's own life four times

ıttempted. I learned details of the minute and comprehensive organisation throughout the country, in which every participant works for love and finds his own expenses. My informant was himself in the propaganda department in charge of a certain block of houses. The work was not without risk ; he had been attacked and nearly flung down five flights of stone stairs. He was saving up the fifty marks for a uniform to join the Storm Detachments. While we waited he explained the various signs and badges. The discipline, the idealism, the obliteration of caste and rank, the whole-hearted unpaid service, recalled nothing I have met before but in the Boy Scouts.

We have waited two hours and a half. The bands strike up. "The Leader" comes. Preceded by flags, he paces between two lines of his Storm Detachments. The entire multitude leaps to its feet, and one shout breaks, again and yet again, from 125,000 throats: Heil Hitler! The roar continues till he has shaken hands on the platform; a hush falls; people are reseated. Someone in a brief phrase bids Hitler "Welcome to our sacred city of Cologne!" The Leader raises his hand and speaks. For three-quarters of an hour no pin fell, no single person coughed, so absolute was the spell.

Younger-looking, slighter, taller than I had imagined —his apparent height due in part to the height of the platform—Hitler stood, unselfconscious and commanding before his audience. He has natural gestures and a pleasant voice, delightfully clear and easy to follow. When he raised it in passion or in fervour it

little salary and a pretty title. I ask no salary, and there is no title the Republic can bestow which I rate higher than my name of Hitler. [*Roars of prolonged applause.*]

"People ask how I dare claim to lead. I answer, because I have toiled for thirteen years to fit myself to lead, to fit the country to be led. If Germany is to rise again, recovery must come from the people, for disaster began amongst the people. No economic policy is possible while we are split into two dozen parties: landlords, tenants, employers, workers, bureaucrats, and the rest. No recovery is possible till Germany is one. [*Enthusiastic cheering.*] Catholic and Protestant, rich and poor, soldier and civilian, doctor, lawyer, artisan, and peasant, must form one brotherhood. We have grown from seven to a million, from one million to fourteen. We have not done growing. The new Government must be of the whole people and have its roots deep in German soil.

"If I join a 'party,' I fling away the fruits of thirteen years—and worse: I betray the men who trust me. No political movement in history has ever boasted such loyalty as ours. You are loyal to me, and I no less to you. [*Echoing and re-echoing applause.*] I will not desert you. We have laboured and suffered together. We will work till not fourteen but forty millions are ours. No blow shall stay us. No lure shall tempt us. Our watchword is

"No surrender! (Kein Kapitulieren!)

[*Unending applause.*]"

Heads were bared and right hands raised as *Deutschland uber Alles* burst from every throat After a pause it changed into the great song that was the murdered Wessel s "Last Greeting to the Germany of Tomorrow'

As poetry it might be bettered, but it has great lines, and, sung with the religious fervour of this multitude, it left an impression not lightly to be effaced

" *The day of Freedom and of Food shall dawn*
The knell of slavery shall soon be rung "

Each verse ends with the twice repeated refrain

" *The comrades slain by Communists and cowards*
In spirit still are marching in our ranks "

The host of full an eighth of a million dispersed quietly and silently into the night The spell still held Scarcely a word was heard

Outside we passed the 85 mounted and 250 unmounted police who had guarded the hall from molestation The silver grey Exhibition Buildings, with their rigid rectilinear lines, shouldered us out into an inky winter night The black satin shining river flowed noiselessly by, flanked and crossed by golden lights whose reflec tions plunged quivering lances into the unplumbed depths Across the water, behind the blaze of city lights two immense spears thrust up towards heaven spectrally silhouetted against a sky of indigo Some thing of the spirit that reared the Cathedral of Cologne had been throbbing in the Messehalle to night

E O L, *October* 31, 1932

When I wrote the foregoing account of Hitler's Mass Meeting in Cologne, I had not read *Mein Kampf*, and Hitler was not yet being taken over-seriously by the German public at large, certainly not by the circle in which my friends moved. In my then ignorance I little realised the uses to which the speaker would put his extraordinary power to sway an audience, nor the danger inherent in his gift for awakening fanaticism, hysteria, intolerance, and hate—none of these things was in evidence in his election speech that night. I feel less ashamed of not having foreseen the future, since I read Calvin B. Hoover's *Germany Enters the Third Reich*, where he says, "It cannot be too strongly reiterated that, as late as a month before Hitler became Chancellor, his cause was still accounted hopelessly lost by responsible opinion." It is, however, interesting to note how far his mass-meeting technique was already developed; the impressive stage-setting, the decorated hall, the uncounted swastika flags, the slogans, the lofty dais, the music, the communal singing, the reverent silences, the tribute to "murdered" comrades—slain of course in unpardonable street brawls with any folk rash enough to be of another mind in politics—above all, the delayed arrival.

CHAPTER II

THE PRINCIPLE OF THE BIG LIE

During his life in Vienna Hitler suffered under Trade Union pressure, and began to study the skill with which Communists and Social Democrats exploited the workers' discontent for their own ends He saw them as masters of the art of propaganda, and he set to work to study the principles of this art for himself—perhaps with a premonition that he would one day be able to turn these principles to good account

The first conclusion he came to was that all great movements, whether religious or political, whether good or evil, derive their momentum from "the magic power of the spoken word" reinforced by the Mass Demonstration

Next in importance was the power of the popular press, the adult's continuation school supplemented by poster, picture, and film Thirdly, but of less significance, the more high brow printed word of book, pamphlet, and better-class newspaper, which appeal to the educated strata of the population

He debated the questions Can spiritual ideas be eradicated by the sword? Can violence combat a philosophy of life? He concluded that the answer to both questions was in the negative force alone could never destroy an idea Violence was necessary, but it must be backed by a new and inspiring thought, and he attributed the failure of Bismarck's efforts to defeat Socialism to the fact that he offered no alternative doctrine

Hitler's later experience brought him face to face with war propaganda, and he was filled with reluctant admiration for the skill with which Germany's enemies conducted it. "While we fought for bread, England fought for 'Freedom,' and not even for her own freedom, but for the freedom of the little nations" (168). Hitler naturally gives England no credit for having been sincere, but a great deal for the brilliant hypocrisy of so stirring a slogan.

Despite his appreciation of the real injustices under which the workers laboured, Hitler has a low opinion of "the masses," to whom in various contexts he applies many opprobrious terms. They are "an empty-headed herd of sheep" (9) and the incarnation of stupidity. Their receptiveness is very limited, their understanding is negligible (198).

Nevertheless, it is to the masses that propaganda must be addressed. It must not aim at instruction; the less it is weighted with fact or information the better, for at all costs it must avoid the risk of being above the heads of the hearers. It must work always and wholly on the emotions.

No amount of skill in concocting propaganda is of any use if the basic principle is forgotten, viz. that its subject-matter must be severely restricted and the content must be repeated over and over again. The presentation may be infinitely varied, but the theme must be always the same; the one refrain must eternally recur. The results which can be achieved by this procedure are simply incalculable (203). "The skilful and unremitting use of propaganda can persuade people

to believe that Heaven is Hell or conversely that the most miserable existence is Paradise." (302).

Similar calculations yielded the axiom that hate must be worked up against one enemy only, lest it lose force by dispersion. There may, in fact, be many enemies to combat, and they may have little relation to each other, or none; but the wise propagandist will succeed in making them all "appear to belong to one category" (129). This explains why, in Hitler's mouth, the "international Jew," the Communist, the Pacifist, the Democrat, the Liberal, the Revolutionary, and the Parliamentarian are equated with such entire absence of logic; one and all are "the Enemy."

Hitler is proud of his readiness to learn *from his* enemies, of having stolen the technique of propaganda, first from the Social Democrats and Marxists of Vienna, then from the Allies. *He claims further to have learned* from the Jews "the very sound principle" that "a definite factor in getting a lie believed is the size of the lie . . . for the broad mass of the people in the primitive simplicity of its heart more readily falls victim to a big lie than to a small one" (252).

Acting on this last principle, Hitler has created the legend of the War; that an innocent and reluctant Germany was dragged into it by her fatal loyalty and chivalry to her worthless ally Austria, that the German armies were victorious *all the time,*[1] *and all along the*

[1] Wheeler-Bennett: *Hindenburg, the Wooden Titan,* quotes Hindenburg's own despatch confessing the complete military defeat of the German armies and urging an immediate armistice. This was *before* the outbreak of the revolution.

line, and were stabbed in the back by a conspiracy of Jews, Pacifists, etc., and all the rest of the contemporary German legend, so big a lie so untiringly reiterated—to infants in the kindergarten in words of one syllable and to the mass of the nation on every occasion—that the sheer bigness of the untruth has had the hoped-for effect on "the primitive simplicity" of the German mind. Indeed, it is more than probable that by force of iteration Hitler has hypnotised himself into believing it. How long, the unhypnotised observer asks himself, will it be after Hitler and his régime have passed away before the German mind can be decontaminated? How long before another Ranke will arise in Germany to write "true history which deals with things as they actually were," before the German ear is again attuned to hear the voice of Goethe: "There is no Wisdom save in Truth"?

The doctrine of the big lie enables Hitler unblushingly to state, in his Reichstag Speech of May 1935 (for foreign consumption): "We are prepared to do everything to arrive at a true peace and a real friendship with the French nation," while he continues to present to every newly-wedded couple in Germany free copies of *Mein Kampf* (the price of which is covered by an enhanced marriage-fee), in which he still shouts in 1938 that "France is the deadly enemy of our nation" (755), that the pre-requisite for every success is "to concentrate all our will-power and all our physical force on a thrust into the heart of our most infamous foe" (718).

The same Reichstag speech assures the world that 'the present German Government has no other wish

than to live on peaceable and friendly terms with all neighbouring States . . . not only the larger States, but also the surrounding smaller States," while *Mein Kampf* continues to state for home consumption that "Germany sees in the annihilation of France only a means to an end, so that we may thereafter give our people room for expansion in another direction" (767), and that room for 250 million Germans must be found at the expense of Russia and the small countries on her borders

The same big-lie principle enabled Hitler to reaffirm, in his Reichstag speech of February 20, 1938, the accord with Austria of July 11, 1936, by which the Reich Government recognised the full and independent sovereignty of the Austrian Federal State, while he was perfecting, or had already perfected, the elaborate and minute preparations for the sudden and overwhelming invasion of Austria on March 12, 1938 [1]

The *News Chronicle* (September 28, 1938) has tabulated some facts which Parliament would do well to digest [2]

May 17, 1933 —"Germany will tread no other path than that laid down by the treaties The German

[1] The "Friends of Europe" pamphlets include No 29, an excellent report of Hitler's Reichstag Speech, and No 30 a criticism of the same by Sir Malcolm Robertson, Nos 61, 62-63 deal with the End of Austria (3*d* each from 122, St. Stephen House, Westminster, S W 1) These valuable and authoritativ pamphlets deserve to be more widely known. I shall frequentl have occasion to refer to them

[2] Reproduced by kind permission of the Editor of the *News Chronicle*

Government will discuss all political and economic questions only within the framework and through the treaties. The German people have no thought of invading any country."—*Reichstag speech of Herr Hitler, the new Chancellor.*

October 14, 1933.—*Germany left the League and the Disarmament Conference just when Sir John Simon was making a statement at Geneva aimed at achieving a compromise between the French and German views on disarmament.*

October 14, 1933.—" When the Saar territory has been restored to Germany, only a madman would consider the possibility of war between the two States (France and Germany). No one could demand that millions of men should be annihilated for the sake of a readjustment of our present frontier."—*Speech on radio.*

November 10, 1933.—" When has the German people ever broken its word ? "—*Speech in Berlin.*

January 30, 1934.—" After this question [the Saar] has been settled, the German Government is ready to accept, not only the letter, but also the spirit of the Locarno Pact."—*Speech in Reichstag.*

March 13, 1934.—" The German Government have never questioned the validity of the Treaty of Locarno." —*Note to France.*

March 19, 1934.—" *German boundaries have always changed. They will continue to change until all German peoples are united in one.*"—*Speech at Munich.*

February 3, 1935.—Britain and France invited Germany to co-operate in " a general settlement " which would, among other things, free Germany from the

one-sided military restrictions of Versailles Hitler, insisting on separate, private talks, instead of an open conference, invited Sir John Simon to Berlin March 7 was the appointed day

March 5, 1935—Invitation to Sir John Simon suspended because Hitler had caught a cold

March 10, 1935—*General Göring announced the existence of a German Air Force (forbidden by the Peace Treaty)*

March 16, 1935—Hitler decreed Conscription (forbidden by the Peace Treaty)

March 20, 1935—Hitler's cold was pronounced better, and the invitation to Sir John Simon was renewed, and accepted

May 21, 1935—"The German Government will scrupulously observe every treaty voluntarily concluded In particular, they will hold to and fulfil all obligations arising out of the Treaty of Locarno, so long as the other partners are ready to stand by that treaty" —*Reichstag speech*

"Germany neither intends nor wishes to interfere in the internal affairs of Austria, to annex Austria, or to conclude an Anschluss"—*Same speech*

March 7, 1936—*Germany denounced the Treaty of Locarno and reoccupied the demilitarised Rhineland zone*

March 7, 1936—"Germany will never break the peace of Europe. After three years, I can regard the struggle for German equality as concluded to-day We have no territorial demands to make in Europe"—*Reichstag speech*

April 1, 1936—Germany submitted a "Peace Plan,"

including a "Twenty-five Year Pact of Non-Aggression."

May 7, 1936.—Britain sent a questionnaire to Germany on the "Peace Plan."

To this questionnaire Germany has never replied.

August 27, 1936.—Germany adhered to the Spanish Non-Intervention Agreement.

August 30, 1936.—*Twenty-eight German 'planes arrived at Cadiz (to be followed by many more).*

January 30, 1937.—"The period of so-called surprises is now over. . . . Peace is our dearest treasure." —*Reichstag speech.*

February 12, 1938.—In the agreement reached with Dr. Schuschnigg at Berchtesgaden, Hitler reaffirmed his recognition of Austrian sovereignty, already expressed in the Austro-German Agreement of July 1936.

March 11, 1938.—*Germany annexed Austria.*

March 14, 1938.—Mr. Chamberlain told the House of Commons that Germany had given assurances that she had no hostile intentions against Czechoslovakia. (Göring gave the Czech Minister in Berlin his "word of honour" on this.)

September 24, 1938.—*Germany sent her seven-day ultimatum to Czechoslovakia.*

September 26, 1938.—"And now the last problem which must be solved confronts us. It is the last territorial claim which I have to make in Europe, but it is one I will not renounce."—*Speech in Berlin.*

Working the Big Lie, and completely controlling press and publishing, wireless and cinema and every

branch of publicity, Hitler has deliberately evoked in the German people that "fanaticism and compelling hysteria" (above, p. 23) that were necessary to compass his ends.

For five years the "empty-headed herd of sheep," of whom he has made himself the Leader, has been convinced that the world had formed a sinister conspiracy to encircle and annihilate them. They have brought themselves a willing sacrifice to an unprecedented bondage. Every shred of personal freedom has been laid on the altar of the Nazi state (see below, Chapter XI) in the service of Hitler's hatred of Freedom, especially the freedom of democratic states like Czechoslovakia, France, and Britain. And verily the Germans are reaping their reward. Czechoslovakia is gone. With the wealth, resources, and man-power of the Danube and the Balkans at Hitler's command, the annihilation of France seems within sight. Hitler may well calculate that a complacent British Cabinet will offer him France on a golden platter and set him free to devote his undivided attention to the enslavement of Britain and the dismemberment of the British Empire.

CHAPTER III

ENEMY—AND SCAPEGOAT

BEFORE further examining the National Socialist Programme and Gospel, we must get clear about Hitler's attitude to the Jews.

He was fourteen or fifteen, he tells us, before the word "Jew" had any special connotation for him; it vaguely suggested a strange religion and was vaguely repellent—nothing more. There were few Jews in Linz, and such as there were had become "humanised," to the point that "I even took them for Germans" (55). After the first excitement of being in Vienna had somewhat died down, the young Hitler lighted on the Jew problem. At first he had rejoiced in the wide range of information of such great newspapers as the *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Wiener Tageblatt*, but he soon became disturbed by the critical and even hostile tone these papers took towards Germany and the Kaiser William II. The dignity of their style—in such refreshing contrast to the vulgarity of the popular Social Democrat press—their restraint and apparently liberal attitude, could not make amends for their criticism of his idol, the Kaiser, the man who had created the German Fleet. It seemed to him that the Vienna papers took delight in running down everything German while they exalted French culture and French civilisation. It was intolerable. Seeking the explanation, he discovered that the papers he had so much admired were run by—Jews.

Meantime, he had suffered persecution at the hands of the Social Democrats because he refused to join their organisations. The more he learned about their teachings the greater grew his loathing. They seemed to have no ideals and to rejoice in dragging everything in the mire; patriotism, law, religion, education, morals, were all, according to them, devices of the capitalist to exploit the proletariat. The Social Democratic press raved of such things *ad nauseam*; enquiry revealed that it was run almost wholly by Jews.

Every sort of vice was prevalent in Vienna: prostitution, traffic in women, and more nameless evils still. Hitler began to probe into these unsavoury matters. Whatever abuse he investigated, he affirms that he always found "a Jew-boy (Judlein) in the centre of it like a maggot in a decaying corpse" (61). He began to look for the Jew, not only in the press, but in art, literature, theatre, and cinema, and it seemed to him that all literary filth, all ugly, artistic suggestiveness flowed from one source, that "here was mental plague, worse than the Black Death of long ago, with which the populace was being infected" (62).

From these observations he drew the conclusion that the Jew was no German, and that the Jewish problem was one, not of creed, but of race. He came to Vienna as something of an internationalist; he found himself becoming a fanatic anti-Semite, believing that Social Democracy, Marxism, and the Jew were indissolubly related.

It is worth enquiring what Hitler imagined the Jew was after. The aim of Marxism was, he decided, the

annihilation of all non-Jewish States (185), and the methods by which the Jew set out to compass this end were many By his devilish skill in finance he acquired complete control of the banks, the stock exchange, and the whole German economic system, and used this power for the political disintegration of the country; for the Jew is the eternal " fission fungus " of humanity (135) The English reader, remembering with gratitude how much the stability of British finance has owed to the co operation of generations of British Jews with English bankers, would like some indication of just how Hitler would prove Jewish finance was necessarily so fatal to Germany, but Hitler does not attempt to *prove* any of his amazing theses He asserts, and in Nazi Germany it is believed, such is the magic of the Fuhrer's word

Following, however, the line of Hitler's assertions—one cannot say " the line of his argument," for he adduces no evidence—we learn that before the war was well begun the entire production of Germany was in the hands of the Jews, who seized the opportunity to rob the nation When Hitler was convalescing after his wound in 1916, he found the Munich offices filled with Jews they had dug themselves in as " indispensables " " Almost every writer was a Jew and every Jew a writer," so that the whole press was in their hands He compared the number of Jews whom he safely *embusques* at the Base with the numbers he had noticed at the Front Perhaps in this matter he was not as observant as he might have been, for statistics show that the number of casualties per hundred of the popula-

tion was almost as high for German Jews as for German non-Jews, and amongst officers actually higher Or it may have been that the steel helmet blunted Hitler's senses, for he boasted that in Vienna he could detect a Jew with his eyes shut—by the smell

The Jew, complains Hitler, has never had a civilisation of his own he has always been a parasite in the body of other peoples He has wandered, not because he was a nomad—even a nomad knows how to work, which no Jew ever did—but because he has been evicted from one country after another by the hosts he has maltreated Schopenhauer has called him the "Great Master of Lying", the Jew, in fact, takes as naturally to lying, and continuous lying, as the dweller in the Arctic to warm clothes His first lie is that Jewry is a religion it is not a religion, it is a race This irresistibly recalls the bitter-humorous phrase of Heinrich Heine, smarting under the anti Semitism of a hundred years ago "Judaism is not a religion, it is a misfortune, I would not wish it to my worst enemy"

The Jew, harps Hitler, has never been able to create a state of his own, because the essential basis for a state is idealism, and the Jew has none The Talmud is not a book to prepare the reader for life beyond the grave, but to give him practical advice how to make existence tolerable for himself on earth The English reader, however, can recall a thousand passages from the Hebrew prophets and the Psalms of David, from the Fourth Gospel and from the letters of St Paul which breathe in one line more idealism than the 871 pages of *Mein Kampf* We must conclude that neither

the Old Testament nor the New was among those unnamed books that Hitler read so thoroughly in Vienna.

Despite apparent intellectual gifts, the Jewish intellect—lacking idealism—can never be constructive. It is always and only destructive; at the very best occasionally stimulating.

To cite only a couple of cases which refute Hitler's reproach of wholly unconstructive activity, it is worth remembering that the whole outburst of fifteenth-century exploration was rendered possible by the astronomical calculations, the nautical instruments, and the enterprise of Jews. Not only was Columbus financed by Jews, but his ship was largely manned by them; the first of his men to sight the continent of America and the first to set foot on it were two of his Jewish companions. There is a strong presumption, though no conclusive proof, that Columbus was himself a Jew. The tradition of Jewish exploration has been well upheld through succeeding centuries to culminate in the Central Asian exploits of our own contemporaries, Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin.

Modern medicine owes incalculable debts to Jewish scientists; salvarsan and insulin were discovered by the Jews, Ehrlich and Minkovsky; Kohn may be said to have founded the modern science of bacteriology; Unna and Kapri that of dermatology, and Henle that of modern anatomy.[1]

[1] A well-documented book by Cecil Roth temperately sets forth *The Jewish Contribution to Civilisation* (Macmillan, 1938). It contains a full bibliography for the information of readers wishing to pursue the subject in greater detail. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Roth.

It is also worth remembering that the Nobel Trust has distributed among the ten million Jews of Europe and America as many Nobel Prizes as among the sixty million Germans of the Reich.

Even the well-known loyalty of Jew to Jew is a myth to Hitler. Such sense of cohesion as the Jews possess is merely a primitive herd-instinct; they hold together only when threatened by a common danger or lured by a common spoil. When these ties are removed, they display selfishness, and become in the twinkling of an eye a pack of savage rats tearing each other bloodily to pieces (331).

Another example of the Jew's deceit is his apparent assimilability. He talks the language of the country where he lives, and poses as a Frenchman or a German; but while he talks French he *thinks Jewish.*

The Jew sneaked into Europe in the wake of the Romans as a foreign trader, always middleman, never producer. He amassed money and lent it at usurious rates of interest, enmeshing the luckless peasant in his toils. Amongst the items of world-history that did not attract Hitler's notice in the libraries of Vienna is the interesting fact that when the Jews were expelled from France in 1306, the chroniclers deplored the deed, because it left the people to the mercy of the Christian money-lender, who was immeasurably more grasping.

Next, Hitler sees the Jews installed in the towns, always inhabiting a special quarter—it seems a little hard to cast the institution of the Ghetto in the teeth of the Jew—and insinuating himself into the graces of the princes by bribery and flattery, till every petty German

potentate kept a "Court Jew," and even elevated them to the peerage.

Later the Jew took the line of posing as a philanthropist and benefactor, but in so doing he takes care not to impoverish himself. His philanthropy is only as manure you spread on the fields, not for love of the fields, but to ensure yourself a better harvest.

But the cup of the Jew's iniquity is not yet full. He founded commercial companies and thus undermined the relations between employer and employed in order to prepare the ground for class warfare. He posed as a Liberal and prated of the progress of humanity, and in the name of religious tolerance invented Freemasonry, making it an instrument for getting the middle classes into his power. With horrid ingenuity he aggravates the social rift between rich and poor. On the one hand he organises capitalist methods of exploitation to his own advantage, and encourages the social snobbery that despises manual labour; on the other, he constitutes himself the leader of the masses against their employers, and breaks resistance among the independent workers by the most ruthless violence. This game of double-crossing is "the most infamous swindle of all time" (349).

Marxist sympathy for the worker is merely a cloak for pursuing Jewish ends. There is not the least intention to improve the worker's lot. By stirring up the passions of the worker by strikes, mass demonstrations, and press propaganda, the Jew is creating for himself a fighting troop to destroy national independence, while he paralyses more intellectual circles by the pacifist doctrines of Freemasonry.

The next manœuvre of the Jew was to proclaim himself a Zionist, pretending to the outside world that a national home in Palestine would satisfy his ambitions, while he was really seeking a headquarters for international intrigue, a refuge for detected scoundrels, and a university training-ground for rogues (*Gauner*) (356).

In Russia, Hitler sees the terrible example of a country where the Jew is able to work his will. Three million persons more or less, according to Hitler's calculations, have been slain or starved to death in order that a " horde of Jewish scribblers and exchange-bandits may rule securely over a great people."

Realising that the Second German Empire had not been evolved through the free co-operation of the petty German states, but had been imposed by Prussia on distrustful and semi-hostile peoples, jealous of their historic independence and loyal to their ancient ruling houses, the Jew set himself, during and after the War, to fan the slumbering anti-Prussian feeling in the individual states, especially in Bavaria, where the House of Wittelsbach was well beloved. Dearly as Hitler loved Bavaria, this anti-Prussian campaign enraged him. The Germany he dreamt of was to be one state, not a Confederation, still less was it to be a continuation of the Republic which " shows weakness abroad and oppresses its citizens at home," displaying all the characteristics of a mere " intermezzo in German history " (640).

In 1919 there was published in Germany a document known as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which

professed to be a copy of the Minutes of the Zionist Congress held in Basle in 1897, and to reveal a widespread Jewish conspiracy for achieving world-domination. Responsible Jewish authorities at once indignantly disowned it. After independent enquiry, *The Times* in 1921 proved beyond doubt that the Protocols were an infamous forgery by a Russian anti-Semite. On this wholly discredited "evidence" Hitler builds up the most virulent of his accusations against the Jew. "The *Frankfurter Zeitung* whines to the world that the Protocols are based on a forgery," he writes; "the best proof that they are genuine" (337). Hitler has hardly written any sentence more damning to himself than these seven words.

Satisfied, however, with his "proof," he detects the International Jew capturing the finances of the world; making Russia a basis for overthrowing all national states; making Palestine his headquarters for intrigue; stirring up the masses to overthrow all national governments. But this is not the worst. Conscious of his own profound inferiority, the Jew knows that he can never rule over white races, but can only be the Ruler of Bastards. The "black-haired Jew-boy lies in wait for hours, his face lighted by satanic joy, to attack the unsuspecting girl; . . . with deliberate intent these black, human parasites rape our young, inexperienced, fair-haired maidens, destroying what no power on earth can again restore" (357, 630). With the same dastardly intent the Jews brought the black troops to the Rhine, with the concurrence of France, "by far our most terrible enemy," who is herself becoming steadily

so "negrified" that she constitutes a menace to the future of the white race in Europe (704)

Characteristically, Hitler offers no statistics for the rape of blonde maidens by black parasites, nor for the number of German infants fathered by negroes on the Rhine

More dastardly still, perhaps, the wealthy Jew marries off his spare daughters to influential Germans in pursuance of his scheme for bastardising the race Those who knew Germany before the War cannot have forgotten the indecent hunt after rich Jewesses that was the pastime of the ambitious young Prussian officer To Hitler, however, the unscrupulous Gentile who married for money was an unsuspecting victim of the Jewish conspiracy for World Dominion !

Hence the Jew must be exterminated (ausgerottet) (372), "I believe that I am acting to day in accordance with the intention of the Almighty Creator when I attack the Jew I am fighting for the work of the Lord" (70)

History will not ignore the fact that during the first four months of Hitler s regime in Austria, over 7,000 people took their own lives rather than continue to live as victims of Nazi "culture" Nor can it be forgotten that a house, where all the adults had thus committed prophylactic suicide, was decorated by Hitler s men with a notice that this example was

"Recommended for Imitation"
(Zur Nachahmung empfohlen)

Nazi Germany may some day repent her ingratitude

to her Jews. Albert Ballin created single-handed the Mercantile Marine that was the glory of Germany before the War—advertisements now boast that the Hamburg-America line is *Judenrein* (pure of Jews); Walther Rathenau, whose father introduced the telephone into Germany and founded the great Electricity Company, did more than any other man to help Germany to hold out till 1918 by the genius he displayed in co-ordinating her supplies of raw materials—Nazi Germany has erected a monument to his murderers. Twelve thousand Jews laid down their lives for their German Fatherland in the World War: their very names have been erased from her war memorials.

[For Hitler's treatment of the Jews, see "Nazism and the ws," *The Times*, June 18, 1938, p. 15. (This issue of *The imes* was, of course, confiscated in Germany.) Also the files f the *Manchester Guardian*, and an article by the ex-Ambassador f the United States to Germany, William E. Dodd, in the *lation*, August 20, 1938, and most recently of all the English apers of November 10 to date.]

CHAPTER IV

THE "ARYAN"

"Race prejudice is but another name for ethnological ignorance. . . . Racially the German Jews are Alpines, like the South Germans."—PROFESSOR GRIFFITH TAYLOR, *of Toronto, at the British Association, August,* 1938.

WE have seen that Hitler, perhaps through no fault of his own, grew to maturity without scientific mental discipline; without training in sifting evidence, and without a desire to seek Truth for its own sake. Anyone less qualified to play the anthropologist can hardly be imagined. Yet to justify his intention to exterminate the Jew, he had to evolve some theory of Race; hence he created the mythical Aryan, alternatively called the Nordic or, more bluntly, the German. In actual fact he adopted this Aryan myth from Gobineau and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, whose fantastic theories were current in the anti-Semite circles of Vienna.

The Reich of Hitler is built on the theory of the Aryan, but oddly enough the only approximation to a definition of this admirable being which *Mein Kampf* vouchsafes to an enquirer is the negative one: "The Jew is the most profound antithesis of the Aryan" (329).

Without being informed who exactly the Aryan may be, we are, however, told much about him. Everything that is worth while in the world, all the products of civilisation, art, science, technique "is almost exclusively the creative product of the Aryan" (317). The "almost" is touching: it leaves a loophole for

Egyptians and Babylonians, Cretans and Chinese, the Incas, the Mayas, and the unknown inventors of the arts of writing and of numbers.

What makes the Aryan great, we learn, is not only his spiritual quality, but his readiness to place all his gifts and powers at the service of the community; he is willing to sacrifice himself for the good of the whole, to lay down his life if need be for the preservation of his species (326).

Human civilisation and culture are bound up with the existence of the Aryan. "Whoever dares to lay a hand on the highest image of God is committing a crime against the benevolent Creator of this marvel (dieses Wunders)" (421).

Throughout the greater part of Hitler's lengthy book it is assumed that all non-Jewish Germans belong to this privileged stock, but one page (438) regretfully admits the fact that the German nation is not wholly uniform in race. The open, continental boundaries of Germany allowed an infiltration of non-Germanic stocks, especially after the Thirty Years' War; this accounts for a certain centrifugal tendency noticeable in the nation at moments of crisis. It is, however, a blessing that no complete blending of races took place, and that Germany still possesses a large store of unmixed North-Germanic stocks. The new German state must undertake the task of assembling and preserving the most valuable racial elements and must slowly but surely raise them to a position of domination.[1]

[1] Below, p 150. The Napolas, the Adolf Hitler Schools, and the Ordensburgs.

For the moment, however, after this one concession to historical fact, we are allowed to assume that the terms Aryan and German are interchangeable "Only one human right is sacred, and this right is at the same time the highest duty. to ensure that the blood is kept pure" (444)

A higher race blending with a lower can only sink in the human scale, and since, as we have seen, the Aryan is the "highest image of God," racial contamination is for him the unforgivable sin It might be thought that other races would get credit where they had kept their purity of blood on the contrary One of the reproaches levelled at the Jew is that no other people in the world has had the instinct of self preservation so strongly developed as the Chosen People What other people has been exposed to like catastrophes and to like vicissitudes and yet preserved its character unaltered through 2,000 years? "What an infinitely tenacious will to live and to preserve the species speaks from these facts!" (329) *Therefore* the Jew must be exterminated

Hitler has satisfactorily convinced himself and his disciples that there is no such thing as an equality of races There is not only a difference between them, but some are of higher and some of lower value It is therefore the duty of the National Socialist movement "to recognise this fact, and in accordance with the Eternal Will which rules the Universe, to promote the victory of the better and stronger and demand the subordination of the weaker and worse" (421)

"Mankind has grown great in unremitting battle—it

perishes in everlasting peace." Indeed, the whole conception of peace as a desirable thing is a demoralising Jew invention which no self-respecting Aryan should entertain. Hitler recognises only two kinds of pacifists: what we should call the genuine pacifist-by-conviction, like our English Quaker, for whom he has nothing but the most supreme contempt as a degenerate and a weakling, and secondly, that astute pacifist who alks peace to lull his enemy into fancied security until his own preparations for attack are complete. We have heard the voice of this Pacifist Hitler conversing with Neville Chamberlain at Berchtesgaden and Munich.

"Humane and pacifist ideas may perhaps be quite good when the man of highest value has so completely conquered and subjected the world that he is sole lord of the earth. . . . Therefore first battle, and then, possibly, pacifism" (315). We have seen that the Aryan, i.e. the German, is the man of highest value, so it is clear that Hitler has no serious thought of peace until Germany, under his inspired leadership, is mistress of the world. Any interim pronouncements he may feel it expedient to make are only the voice of the type of pacifist whom he admires. He is not logically minded, nor has he any sense of humour, the Führer, or it might strike him that other nations and races might find his crudely-stated schemes of World Dominion not a whit more palatable than the imaginary ambitions of the Jews. But whereas we know that *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were a forgery, we know that in this year of grace 1938 Hitler stands over every word of *Mein Kampf*, reissuing copies by the

hundred thousand for the compulsory reading of l people.

He recurs to this idea of future peace. If Germany political development had only been more favourab the German Empire would already be Mistress of t World, " we might have had what so many bedazzl pacifists of to-day hope to get by their begging a *whimpering and whining: a peace . . . founded by t* victorious sword of a master people (Herrenvolk) wh had seized the world in the service of a Higher Cu ture " (438).

CHAPTER V

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST STATE

HITLER sees in the State an instrument necessary to build up and develop a certain type of culture, but not itself the source of this culture. Nationality, or race, is not a matter of speech, but of blood.[1] You cannot "nationalise" people of alien blood by imposing on them your speech or your education. The Laplander, if brought to the south, would be just as incapable of creating a culture as, for instance, the Eskimo. "This glorious, creative, formative power is granted solely to the Aryan" (433).

In face of this almost sublime arrogance, we once more stand aghast at Hitler's ignorance. Whatever books he read in Vienna, they cannot have included a primer of modern anthropology. While he exalts "this marvel," the Aryan, anthropologists all over the world are busy discovering and admiring the varied, well-adapted cultures that primitive man has evolved to meet his circumstances. The Laplander and the Eskimo—derided by Hitler—the cannibal of the New Hebrides, the Maoris of New Zealand, the Tikopia of

[1] Directly or indirectly Hitler's whole conception of a German national State, founded on race and entitled the Third Reich, is inspired by a powerful but long-winded treatise, *Das dritte Reich*, of Moeller van den Bruck's, first published in 1923. This book deserves careful study. It is available in an honest English condensation by E. O. Lorimer, *Germany's Third Empire* (Allen & Unwin, 1934).

vessel for the race; its second, to preserve the purity of German blood and to increase the purely German population. The nation must be taught to see in the child the most precious possession of the race. The State must see to it that only healthy parents produce children, and that the unfit are taught to consider it a high honour, and a sacred duty to forgo parenthood. So much of Hitler's doctrine runs counter to our every deepest instinct that we could applaud with real pleasure this sound eugenic principle of saving avoidable suffering to posterity if we had any confidence that it would be applied with scientific detachment. The columns of the *Stürmer* unfortunately bear weekly witness to the vindictive manner in which Nazi Germany is using the sterilisation law of July 1933 for her own ends.

Deploring the prevalence of prostitution and the degradation of love, as well as the spread of venereal disease that accompanies it, Hitler wisely and rightly determines that the whole economic system must be recast, so that early marriage shall be within the reach of all, and every citizen, however humble, shall be assured of a decent livelihood. Here again it is pleasant to feel in whole-hearted agreement with his ideals.

The educational system must also be overhauled. In the past, Germany has paid far too much attention to mere book-learning, 95 per cent. of which was useless in after-life. This criticism of pre-war German schooling is just. I have a vivid memory of a fourteen-year-old schoolboy in the house where I lodged during my

student days in Munich. He was a friendly lad, and I used sometimes to prove useful in helping with his home-work; I was frankly appalled at the long hours spent in school and in preparation, though I belong to a generation which worked a great deal harder than the schoolchild of to-day. Oskar had recently had a breakdown, and had been ordered by the doctor to take a term off in the country. He went back to school healthy and sunburnt, to be greeted by his form-master with the remark that he hoped soon to see his face less rosy and somewhat more "intellectualised" (ein bisschen mehr durchgeistigt). The wretched boy was being overloaded with extra work to make up for that holiday which his master had sorely grudged him, and one day, when we were picnicking in the country, Oskar pointed to a picturesque old graveyard and waved a hand towards the tombstones: "At least their sufferings are over," he said (Die haben wenigstens ausgelitten). He spoke in deadly earnest. I found it hard to picture any English schoolboy coveting the quiet of a grave. The statistics of schoolboy suicides in pre-War Germany show that Oskar was no isolated phenomenon. Hitler's Reich is to pay attention, in the *first* place, to physical fitness, in the *second* place, to the development of character, will-power, and joy in responsibility, in the *third* place, to "learning." Sport and physical training are to have ample time allotted to them, and boxing must take an honoured place.

Unfortunately this is not all. These things are to be cultivated, because a boy's faith in his own physical fitness promotes courage and the "*spirit of attack*" (An-

griffsgeist). The German boy's whole education must aim at giving him the conviction "of his own unquestioned superiority over others." . . . He will thus recover faith in "the invincibility of his race" (456). History must be taught by concentration on a few general lines of development, with particular attention to the importance of race and blood-purity. A few leading ideas must be "impressed on the memory and feeling of the people by everlasting repetition" (32). The child must be taught the cultural, economic, and above all the political greatness of his country, so that he may feel a pride in being a member of such a race: "I can only fight for what I love, and love what I respect, and respect what I at least know something about." A few great names must be singled out and become the common pride of the whole people, so that national ambition may be set aflame by such brilliant examples. The great inventor should be celebrated, not only as a great inventor, but "still more as a great compatriot." Children must leave school, not as half-baked "pacifists, democrats, or what not, but as out-and-out Germans" (474).

While the Weimar Republic basely sought to fulfil the demands made by the Treaty of Versailles, the German nation was asleep; but these shameless demands acted like blows of a scourge to awaken the sleeping spirit. National Socialism must press everything into its service to hasten this awakening, every cinema, every poster on every advertising kiosk, every notice-board, everything, from the child's spelling book to the latest newspaper, must cry out "God make us free!"

Till the tiniest child prays fervently: "Almighty God bless our weapons; be just as Thou hast ever been; judge whether we now deserve our freedom; God bless our fight!" (715). It must be remembered that, whatever specious justification these words might seem to have had in 1926, when the second volume of *Mein Kampf* was written, they are still being reprinted and diligently taught in 1938.

Among the subjects which Hitler did study in Vienna were undoubtedly the lives of Frederick the Great and of Bismarck, the history of Prussia, and the creation in 1871 of the "Second Empire," at the head of which, in the early 1900's, stood the Kaiser William II. Pondering on the principles that would make for successful dictatorship, Hitler noted with anxiety Bismarck's defeat in what is known as the "Kulturkampf," his disastrous effort to secularise and coerce the Roman Catholic Church. He also studied with care the reasons for the failure of Schönerer's "All German Movement" in the Austria of his own day, of which to him the most important was the fact that Schönerer entangled himself with those who cried "Los von Rom!" (Away from Rome!)

Instructed by these examples, Hitler concludes that expediency prescribes that "the political leader must treat the religious dogmas and practices of his people as inviolable" (127). He believes—or perhaps more exactly, he believed—that if the German people were taught from childhood to recognise the prior and "exclusive claims" of their own nationality ("die ausschliessliche Anerkennung der Rechte des eignen

Volkstums") on their allegiance, devout folk, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, would be first and foremost Germans at heart. The columns of the daily papers show that in this respect his optimism has been at fault; he has alarmed and gravely alienated both the Roman and the Confessional Church; it will be interesting to see the upshot of the inevitable struggle between the Christian conscience and the Nazi faith. Professor Bergmann has truly said: "A man who thinks he can reconcile Christianity with National Socialism is no true Christian and no true National Socialist." Hitler's original intention, however, was that the National Socialist movement should be non-sectarian, and that Roman Catholic and Protestant should work together side by side.

Already in Vienna Hitler had felt considerable sympathy with the Trade Unions in so far as they were making a genuine effort to improve the conditions of life for the working man and to prevent his exploitation by the employer, and none in so far as they were led into subversive political agitation by the intrigues of Social Democrats. His National Socialist Movement was to set itself from the outset to remove social grievances, to establish the principle that manual labour was as honourable as any other, that a man was to be judged by the quality of his work, irrespective of its nature, and that it was better to be a competent artisan than an incompetent bureaucrat (482–4). One organisation should embrace both employers and employed, and ensure representation for all interests in a society in which there should be no "classes."

Workers and employers are alike trustees for the welfare of the community, strikes and lock outs between them must not be tolerated Disputes must be submitted to Trade Councils (Ständekammern) and to a Central Economic Authority, whose sole concern shall be the common weal No other Trade Union shall be tolerated alongside the National Socialist Trade Union (670–8)

Hitler had made a practice of attending the sessions of the Austrian Reichstag in Vienna He formed a very low opinion of this method of government; partly no doubt because the Austrian Parliament was in fact fairly inefficient, partly from sheer annoyance because the Slav delegates were allowed to speak in their own languages or "dialects" as he contemptuously calls them (83) It was dreadful to realise that the Austrian-Germans were in a numerical minority, and he soon decided that the whole conception of parliamentary institutions was fatal Seductive as the idea may seem at first sight, it must be accounted "a phenomenon of decadence," a precursor of Marxism (84 and 379)

Parliamentary government, as Hitler understood it, abolishes all individual responsibility Instead of giving his attention to solving important problems, a statesman has to persuade an "empty-headed herd of sheep" (eine Hammelherde con Hohlkopfen) to believe in the value of his ideas and then to vote in their favour (86) A majority is nothing but stupidity personified, it hates nothing so much as a great man, while for his part a truly great man refuses to be ordered about by incompetents and gas bags (Nichtskönner und Schwa-

tzer). To accept the parliamentary-majority principle is to deny the leader-principle of which Nature approves, for Nature's law is fundamentally aristocratic (87–8).

Never can a majority take the place of a man: " A hundred empty-heads cannot make a wise man, nor can a hundred cowards take an heroic decision ! " Democracy is the instrument of that race whose deeds shun the light: " Only the Jew can praise an institution which is as dirty and untruthful (schmutzig und unwahr) as he himself."

In opposition to parliamentary democracy, Hitler vowed to establish " true German Democracy ": " The free choice by the people of a Führer prepared to take full responsibility for all he does or leaves undone " (99). In his Reichstag speech of May 1935 Hitler claimed that " the German people has elected a single Deputy as its representative with 38 million votes."

While denying the principles of democracy—as anyone else understands the word—Hitler nevertheless pays tribute to democratic ideals by his bogus elections, from which he and a proportion of his people appear to derive satisfaction. A sense of humour would let him divine the impression such elections produce on the outside world. First you disfranchise or imprison or " protectively arrest " anyone likely to have the courage to say " No," then you make it amply clear that, despite the ostensible " secrecy " of the ballot, any " no "-voters will pay dearly for their temerity, and finally you wave flags at the " Yes " result. An Austrian described to me the other day how the recent election was conducted in Vienna. The voters were shep-

herded in single file to the polling booth Confronted by three Nazi officials behind a table, the would-be voter was asked his name and address He was about to move off to the desk where he could make his mark in some sort of privacy and was assured. "There is no need to go over there, you can make your mark *here.*" He was not anxious to commit suicide or sample the amenities of Dachau, so he duly recorded his "yes" under three attentive pairs of eyes A German friend —ostensibly a Nazi, like everyone in Germany who has any regard for his own comfort or safety—visited Austria just after the elections and sardonically remarked "It's very curious 99 75 per cent of the Austrian population voted for Hitler, but wherever I go amongst people of every rank, I meet only members of the 0 25 per cent" If the consequences were not so desperately serious for Europe and the world, Hitler and his "elections" would be the best joke of the century, perhaps the best joke of any century Particularly so when taken in conjunction with a dictum of Hitler's own: "A camel can go more easily through the eye of a needle than an election can 'discover' a great man" (96); the man who towers above the average is wont "personally to announce his arrival in world history"—and then of course can stage elections for himself if it diverts him, trusting in what Hitler himself calls the "immutable stupidity of the voter" (die unerschütterliche Dummheit) and the complacency with which the "voter-cattle" (Stimmvieh) can be trusted to return to the familiar stall and re elect the same deceiver (412)

PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL SOCIALIST STATE

In the National Socialist State, personality is to be a substitute for the majority-principle, for the masses make no inventions, a majority cannot think or organise, "always and only the individual" (496). The National Socialist State must be built up on the principle of the Prussian Army: the absolute authority of each leader over his subordinates, coupled with his responsibility to his superiors (501). It will have working bodies of various kinds, but no voting shall ever take place on them, for it must be repeated that democratic majority government has only obtained in "quite short periods of history," and only "in periods when nations and peoples were in decay" (502).

For all the lip-service Hitler pays to the "Nordic" race, he seems to have omitted all study of north-European history during that period of self-education in Vienna on which he still draws. He has evidently never read the History of England, of Scandinavia, nor of the Vikings, nor sampled any of the great Icelandic sagas. If he had, he would perhaps have had more respect for the institutions of Parliament as they obtain among those peoples, the Scandinavian and the British, who have the "Nordic" gift of working them. It is fair to admit that the German people, whether owing to the large preponderance of non-Nordic elements or merely to the accidents of history, appear completely to lack this most characteristic and valuable quality. From the days when the Norse and Icelandic farmsteaders gathered in the *Thing* to agree on legislation and to sit in judgment, down to the present, when the great Commonwealth of British Nations contrives

to govern itself through parliamentary institutions, some "Nordic" peoples have displayed their genius in evolving, adapting, and preserving an elastic system of representative democratic government that guards the freedom of the individual, the freedom of conscience, and the freedom of the press No Briton can be expected to repress a smile at the idea that the "quite brief" period between the "Assembled Council of the Wise," the *Witena Gemot*, of our Anglo Saxon ancestors and to-day, has been one of decay for our people and nation, or that the British Commonwealth of Nations has—whatever its future—represented a product of decadence

Hitler had imbibed all that Bismarck had to say about "blood and iron" as more effective weapons for enforcing policy than speeches and majorities, but he turned a deaf ear to the shrewd maxims of the Iron Chancellor when these might have implied any restriction on the almightiness of a Fuhrer Bismarck has said "The most experienced and well meaning absolute rulers are subject to human imperfections, such as over-estimation of their own wisdom and the most ideal monarch if he is not to be a common danger, stands in need of criticism. Criticism can only be exercised through the medium of a free Press and Parliaments in the modern sense of the term"

Not the least interesting of the chapters of *Mein Kampf*, though space does not permit us to linger on them here, tell of Hitler's organisation of his party to "the battle-cry of courageous and brutal attack" (414) He was elected Fuhrer of the NSDAP on August 1,

1921. To forestall Red interruptions at his meeting, he chose a small body of lusty young men to act as "stewards" and chuckers-out, and he dwells with joy on the broken heads and bloodshed that attended their activities. These "stewards" formed the nucleus of the Storm-Troop Detachment of later days. In contrast to a secret society, they were to march under the open sky with bands playing and colours flying to advertise their faith in the new movement, and clear the streets of all opponents. In 1923 the Storm Detachments were converted into a military fighting force. On January 27, 1923, 6,000 Storm-Detachment men attended the dedication of the flag, the now-familiar Nazi flag with its red ground and the black swastika standing boldly out in the centre of a circle of white. Black, white, and red were the imperial colours under which Hitler had fought, the symbol of the vanished Hohenzollern Empire, and these colours he still held "holy and dear," for they had been to him as a soldier "the holiest thing on earth." But by themselves they spoke of the dead Past, whereas the new flag was to prophesy of the Future. The Red stood for social reform, the White for the national idea, and the Swastika for the victory of the Aryan and of creative work "which in itself has always been anti-Semitic and always will be" (557). The history of the ancient Swastika symbol does not suggest that it was an "Aryan" one, but here, as in so many other matters, Hitler's ignorance on the subject was comprehensive. He ought at least to have known that the Kapp conspirators in Berlin had imported it from non-

Aryan Finland. The chief attraction of the flag t him was undoubtedly its distinctiveness and publicit value.

The Storm Detachments served also as instructor and propagandists Hitler had no wish that everyone who fought for his philosophy should have complete insight into his ideas and thoughts He reckoned that the strength of his party lay in disciplined obedience, and the victory would lie with the party which had the best leadership and the most highly disciplined, most blindly obedient, and best drilled, following (510) These Storm-Trooper elite were invaluable, not least in setting the tone at Mass Meetings The individual convert to a new movement derives a sense of shelter and protection from a like minded mob The mass-meeting of which Hitler has made and continues to make such effective use, "creates *esprit de corps* and subjects the waverer to the powerful influence of suggestive intoxication so that he succumbs to the magic influence of what we call mass suggestion" (536)

Who was to have the right to citizenship in the New Reich? It would be absurd to base a claim on a mere accident of birth, regardless of stock and parentage, absurd that a foreigner should be able to acquire a citizenship by naturalisation, as easily as he could join a club

The National Socialist State sharply distinguishes three types of inhabitants. Citizens, Subjects, and Foreigners A Negro or Pole, Jew or Asiatic, who may be born in Germany will become a "subject" by right of birth, but can never become a citizen He is on

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the same footing as a foreigner, except that the foreigner is a citizen of some other State.

Not even the German boy or girl, though born of German parents, is accounted a citizen by birth. The young German must first go through the whole educational mill and be turned out national-minded and race-minded. The boy must pass the prescribed physical tests and perform his service with the Army. At the end of his Army service, if he has a clean record and is physically fit, he will then be in the most solemn manner invested with full Citizen Rights and a diploma enabling him to marry. His certificate of German Citizenship will be the most valuable asset he possesses for the rest of his earthly life. "It must be a greater honour to be a German citizen, though a crossing sweeper, than to be king in a foreign country." The citizen possesses rights and privileges denied to the subject and the foreigner; he is Lord of the German Empire (Herr des Reiches). This dignity carries duties and responsibilities, and a Citizen may be deprived of his rights and reduced again to the level of a subject.

The German girl's whole education must be directed to fitting her for future motherhood. She will remain always a subject until her marriage, when she will become a citizen. (Logically, one would have expected her to remain a subject until the birth of her first child, but Hitler has not pushed his principles to their conclusion.) Only in exceptional cases will citizenship be conferred on an unmarried woman engaged in an earning profession (491).

Since the State wants children, the child of an un-

the first egocentric, unloving and probably unlovable, and that he is anxious to pose as a great man who owed nothing to forerunners, colleagues, or comrades, but possessed a magic gift of evoking loyalty from young adherents; he does speak with enthusiasm of how the young Storm Troopers rejoiced in the opportunities he provided for them to play the swashbuckler and bully. Not a word do we hear of the dissensions which rent the NSDAP from its inception.

It is remarkable that, while Hitler learned to understand so well the hardships and insecurity of a casual labourer's life, he does not betray by a line or phrase the slightest human feeling or sympathy for individuals. There is no record of a single act of kindness given or received. Even the stress Hitler lays on the dignity of manual labour seems to arise from a desire to dignify an occupation he was most reluctantly forced himself to engage in, rather than from any genuine conviction. The scorn he perpetually pours on "the masses" in *Mein Kampf* and the delight he takes in staging his public appearances and providing golden backgrounds for himself to stand against while speaking, betray him as a man who rejoices in every opportunity to emphasise his own importance. He possesses no less than fifteen special desks, one of which is always at hand when he is making a speech. They are fitted with signals indicating when the SA and SS are to lead an outburst of *Heils*, when the spotlight is to play on the speaker, and so forth.[1]

A more inhuman book than *Mein Kampf* it would be

[1] See Konrad Heiden and Rudolf Olden.

hard to name; the only touch of tenderness in it is the allusion to the "uniquely lovely" red-white-black of the German flag under which he had had the privilege to fight—and even this has a slightly hollow ring.

Equal mystery enshrouds the National Socialist finances. We are told that when its seventh member joined the Committee of the German Workers' Party, it possessed the princely sum of 7*s.* 6*d.*, and that 300 Marks (say £15) was collected at their first successful meeting. The next financial statement offered is that when the party was banned in 1923 and its property confiscated, its assets were valued at over 170,000 gold marks (say £8,500) including the goodwill and equipment of the party newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter* (669). The inference the reader is intended to draw is that "I alone did it." But this seems improbable, and an enquiring mind would like to hear more about the people who put up the money to purchase the paper in the first instance and to finance marches, parades, mass meetings, propaganda, and so forth.

Again, it is on the face of it incredible that the National Socialists would have been permitted to sweep through the streets of Munich day after day and week after week, or through Coburg on the memorable "German Day" of which Hitler tells with so much gusto (614), without the support and connivance of highly placed police officials or influential army officers; but not one word of acknowledgment or recognition to any of these patrons is allowed to appear in *Mein Kampf*.

It would have been interesting to hear some details

married mother must not be penalised in any way, but Hitler omits to mention whether the unmarried mother will be granted citizenship on the birth of her child.

Finally, the National Socialist State "must on principle claim the right to force its principles (seine Prinzipien aufzuzwingen) on the entire German nation . . . regardless of political boundaries" (648). We have seen the method applied in Austria; we are watching its application in Czechoslovakia.

CHAPTER VI

SIGNIFICANT SILENCES

ATTENTION has already been called in various connections to Hitler's omission to specify what books he studied with such zeal in Vienna that they supplied the "granite foundation" for all his later actions. It is sufficiently obvious that much of his preposterous racial theory is a garbled version of the superficial and unscientific but brilliantly entertaining theorisings of Gobineau and of Houston Stewart Chamberlain (whose name Hitler mentions quite casually only once). It is improbable that he had read *L'inégalite des races humaines*, but it would be interesting to know whether Hitler had himself read the *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* or had got ideas from the eccentric renegade at second-hand.

Another significant omission which challenges the attentive reader is all allusion to his father's family, to his mother's relatives, to his own brothers and sisters. Equally absent is all mention of friends of any sort made during his life in Vienna and Munich. Even his war-service is passed over without a tribute to any officer or comrade who stirred his admiration, gratitude or affection, and the rare allusions to those who collaborated in building up the National Socialist movement are scanty and unsatisfying in the extreme. Nor is any mention made of the assistance given by Hess and others in the writing of the *Mein Kampf*.

It is hard to resist the impression that Hitler was from

of that "life in the trenches" to which in his speeches he frequently alludes, and of the circumstances (with dates) in which he won the two Iron Crosses that he wears proudly on his breast.

It would have been still more interesting to have heard Hitler's own version of the abortive *coup d'état* of November 9, 1923, which landed him in the fortress prison of Landsberg on the Lech for the nine-months' rest-cure during which the first part of *Mein Kampf* was written. But even his gift for creating Führer legends and manipulating spot-lights might have been hard put to it to explain why, while his misguided followers were falling round him and his fellow-conspirator Ludendorff was boldly marching on to the Feldherrnhalle, he, the Leader, bound to accept "full responsibility," should have flung himself ingloriously on the ground and quietly made his escape in a waiting motor-car. He dedicates his first volume to the memory of the sixteen "dead heroes" who gave their lives, "firmly believing in the future resurrection of the German People," and commends their shining example to their compatriots, but why their Fuhrer left them in the lurch he does not say[1]

Perhaps the strangest of many strange omissions—

[1] Konrad Heiden has written a valuable and illuminating biography of Hitler based on contemporary newspaper reports, on the correspondence, memoirs, and recollections of friends and collaborators, on the evidence given by Hitler himself and other witnesses at Hitler's trial in 1923, etc., and from personal knowledge. This deserves to be read as a complement and corrective to *Mein Kampf* (Konrad Heiden *Hitler*, Constable, 1936). See also Rudolf Olden *Hitler the Pawn*.

I have merely hinted at a few—is the omission of the text of the Twenty-Five Point Programme which, we are told, evoked so much enthusiasm when expounded to the audiences of the early Mass Meetings in Munich.

Just as the leader must in honour retire from leadership if he should find himself deserting any of his enunciated principles, so you cannot hope " to inspire men with a blind faith in the truth of a doctrine " if you are perpetually tinkering at it. The Roman Catholic Church, in this as in so many other things, is exemplary. Much of her doctrine clashes quite unnecessarily with the findings of modern science and research, yet she will not modify one jot or tittle of her immemorial teaching. To alter, to adapt, to explain, opens the door to doubt and hesitation and unending questionings (512). Hence the National Socialist German Workers' Party Twenty-Five Point Programme was declared to be ever " unshakable " (unerschütterlich) (514). This matters little, Hitler expressly points out, for his doctrine is not designed to appeal to intellectuals. Apart from the acknowledgment that Gottfried Feder was the man who called his attention to the importance of economics and the two varieties of capital, Hitler breathes no hint that any other hand or head collaborated in the formulation of the Immutable Programme. Is it possible that even as early as 1926 the famous Programme had become something of a millstone? He had ingeniously contrived to deny the implications of Point 17, but how was he going to rope in capitalists and industrialists and sober " people

with a stake in the country" if some of his other points were to stand unshakably? Perhaps the less heard of the Twenty-Five Points the better. Anyway, no need to reprint them for ever in *Mein Kampf*! Be that as it may, it is pertinent to reproduce them here.

Programme of the National Socialist German Working-Men's Party, the NSDAP

[The translation which follows keeps as close to the original as is consistent with intelligibility. It is reproduced by kind permission from *John o'London's Weekly*, April 1, 1933.]

The Programme of the National Socialist German Working-Men's Party is a definitive programme (Zeitprogramm). The leaders refuse, when the aims herein set forth have been attained, to formulate new ones, merely in order to ensure the continued existence of the party by artificially heightening discontent among the masses.

1. We demand that all Germans should be united into one Great Germany (Gross-Deutschland), on the basis of the nations' right to self-determination.

2. We demand that other nations should recognise the equality of the German nation with other nations (Gleichberechtigung), and that the Peace Treaties of Versailles and of Saint-Germain should be cancelled.

3. We demand land and soil (colonies) for the nourishment of our people and the settlement of our surplus population.

4. No one can be a Citizen (Staatsbürger) who is

not a member of the German nation (Volksgenosse). Only a person of German blood—regardless of creed—can be a member of the Nation. A Jew, therefore, cannot be a member of the Nation.

5. Foreign nationals will be permitted to live in Germany only as guests, and all non-Citizens shall be subject to special Aliens Legislation (Fremdengesetzgebung).

6. The right of determining by vote the leadership and legislation of the State shall be confined to Citizens.

We therefore demand that every public office of whatever kind, whether imperial, provincial, or municipal (im Reich, Land oder Gemeinde), shall be held only by Citizens.

We strenuously oppose the corrupting influences inherent in the Parliamentary custom of making appointments depend on party politics, regardless of character and qualifications of the candidate.

7. We demand that the State shall consider its first duty to be that of providing the means of livelihood for its Citizens. If it proves impossible to feed the entire population, then individuals of foreign nationality (non-Citizens) must be expelled.

8. All further immigration of non-Germans must be stopped. We demand that all non-Germans who have immigrated since August 2, 1914, shall be at once compelled to leave the country.

9. All Citizens shall have equal rights and equal duties.

10. The first duty of every Citizen shall be to work—

whether physically or mentally. The activity of the individual must not be allowed to clash with the interests of the community, but must be directed to the advantage of all within the framework of the whole.

We therefore demand:

11. The abolition of unearned income, the smashing of the tyranny of interest (Die Brechung der Zinsknechtschaft).

12. Having regard to the immense sacrifice of life and property which war entails on the people, the personal enrichment of any individual through war must be made a crime against the people. We therefore demand the full and complete confiscation of all war-profits.

13. We demand the nationalisation of all already amalgamated interests (trusts).

14. We demand that the principle of profit-sharing shall be applied to all big businesses.

15. We demand a large-scale development and extension of the provision for old-age.

16. We demand the creation and preservation of a healthy middle class; the immediate communalisation of the large Stores (Gross-Warenhäuser) and the renting of them on favourable terms to small tradesmen (Gewerbetreibende); the most rigorous supervision of small tradesmen who are imperial, provincial, or municipal suppliers.

17. We demand a comprehensive Land Reform, adapted to our national requirements; the passing of a law for the confiscation, without compensation, of land

for communal purposes, the abolition of interest on land, and the prevention of speculation in land [1]

18 We demand ruthless war against those who, by their activities, injure the common weal Common traitors to the nation (Volksverbrecher), usurers and profiteers and the like shall be punished by death, without distinction of race or creed

19 We demand the substitution of a German Common Law for Roman Law which was designed to subserve a materialistic order of society

20 In order to place higher education within the reach of every capable and industrious German and to enable him to rise to leading positions, the State must take measures to develop and extend our entire education system The curricula of all educational establishments must take the requirements of practical life into consideration The schools must aim at inculcating good citizenship (Civics) from the moment that their pupils are capable of grasping the idea of the State

[1] DECLARATION

On April 13 1928 Adolf Hitler published the following declaration Owing to the false interpretation which our opponents give to point No 17 of the Programme of the NSDAP it is necessary to make the following statement Since the NSDAP maintains the right of private property it is self-evident that the phrase confiscation without compensation only means making it legally possible to confiscate if necessary land which has been illegally acquired or which is not being used to the advantage of the community This clause is therefore primarily directed against the Jewish Societies which speculate in land

(*Signed*) ADOLF HITLER

MUNICH
April 13 1928

We demand that the exceptionally-gifted children of poor parents, of whatever trade or profession, shall be given the fullest training at the expense of the State

21. It is the duty of the State to raise the level of the nation's health by the protection of mother and child, by the prevention of child-labour, and by introducing compulsory sport and gymnastics (Turn-und sport-pflicht), and by the fullest support of all societies which cater for the physical development of the young

22 We demand the abolition of a mercenary and the formation of a national army

23 We demand that legal measures be taken against political lying and its propagation by the Press In order to create a German Press, we demand that

(*a*) All editors and members of the staffs of newspapers which are published in German shall be members of the German Nation

(*b*) Non-German newspapers shall appear only by special permission from the State They shall not be published in German

(*c*) Non Germans shall be forbidden to have any financial interest in, or to exercise any influence on, German newspapers, and we demand that any breach of these conditions shall entail the immediate closing-down of the newspaper in question, and the immediate banishment from Germany of the non-Germans implicated

Newspapers which offend against the common weal are to be proscribed We demand that the law shall wage war against any tendency in art and literature which exercises a disintegrating influence on our

national life, and we demand the closure of any institutions which offend against the above demands.

24. We demand religious freedom for all denominations, so long as they do not endanger the stability of the State or offend against the German people's instincts of morality and decency. The Party as such takes its stand on a positive Christianity, without committing itself to any particular creed. It combats the materialist-Jewish spirit (jüdischmaterialistisch) within and without, and is convinced that a permanent recovery of our people is possible only from within and must be based on the principle of

The Common Interest BEFORE *Self-interest*

25. To carry out the above we demand the creation of a strong Central Government of the Reich and the unconditional authority of this political Central Parliament over the entire Reich and all its organisations; the creation of special chambers (Stände- und Berufskammern) in the individual confederate States to fill out the framework of the laws passed by the Imperial Government.

The Leaders of the Party promise to proceed ruthlessly to carry out the above principles, if need be at the cost of their own lives.

MUNICH, *February* 24, 1920.

A General Assembly of Members of the NSDAP, after fullest deliberation, decided, on May 22, 1926, that:

This Programme is Unalterable

CHAPTER VII

FOREIGN POLICY OF *MEIN KAMPF*

Right abides in strength alone (*M K*, p 740)
We are not the police protectors of "poor little nations" but the soldiers of our own. (*M K.*, p 741)
An alliance whose obj ct is not a future war is senseless and useless (*M K*, p 749)

REVIEWING Hitler's principles of foreign policy as laid down in *Mein Kampf*, we find that it consists of three main items: the absorption of all "Germans" into the Reich; the annihilation of France, the expansion of the Reich

The very first page of *Mein Kampf* strikes the keynote of Hitler's first ambition "Kindred blood should belong to a common Empire" (Gleiches Blut gehört in ein gemeinsames Reich) By hypothesis all people of German stock, whether ever having been under German rule or not, whether desirous of belonging to Germany or not, are "oppressed" by the fact of being outside the Reich "Oppressed countries are not brought back to the bosom of a common Empire by flaming protests, but by a sword mighty to strike" (689) It must be the domestic policy of the New Germany to forge this sword and the task of its foreign policy to preserve it and to seek companions in arms (Waffengenossen), so that Great Germany shall come into being, a state which shall comprise all of German blood

France is represented to the German reader as so "negrified" that she is a danger to the white race in

Europe, as really an African Empire on European soil. She is vindictively determined to prevent Germany's resurgence; she is Germany's implacable enemy; all Germany's will-power and physical force must be directed to dealing a fatal blow at her heart.

Hitler believes that the aims of Britain and France are ultimately incompatible. France desires the hegemony of Europe—while the aim of British statesmanship has always been the preservation of a balance of power. There is therefore good hope of Germany's winning Britain as an ally when wanted. With England and Italy as well as Germany against her, France would be isolated, and this would bring the possibility of "casting down our most savage hater" (die Niederwerfung unseres grimmigsten Hassers) (757).

The annihilation (Vernichtung) of France, however, is only a means to an end (766), to give Germany a free hand in Europe for unhampered expansion. No right is more sacred than the right to cultivable land; Hitler hopes that the world will see 250 million Germans flourishing on the continent of Europe before the end of the century. "Political boundaries were set up by man and may by man be altered" (742); "the world is not for coward peoples" (105). Any country therefore which expanding Germany may covet for the German plough she is entitled to seize, for "we are not the police protectors of 'poor little nations' but the soldiers of our own" (741). No scruples need deter Great Germany from riding roughshod to West and East, for "the sole earthly criterion of whether an enterprise is right or wrong is its success" (105).

Until Germany has gathered all her kidnapped or erring children under her wing, she has no moral right to dream of colonial activity (1), and all talk of colonies is " idle chatter " (albernes Geschwatz) (718) Despite this dictum, the world has been hearing not a little of late about Germany's " stolen colonies," but this is probably only because the clamour has a considerable nuisance value and serves as a red herring to confuse other trails

The maxim of Germany's future foreign policy must be " Never tolerate the rise of a second military power on Germany's frontiers and consider it not only a right, but a duty by every means, even by force of arms, to prevent the rise of such a State or to defeat it if it has arisen " (754) Germany's frontiers, when her appetite for European expansion is sated, will run from the Atlantic to the Black Sea, from the English Channel to the Mediterranean

Such is Hitler's programme for the Third Reich, it is our privilege in 1938—or our tragedy—to see him systematically taking the first steps towards its realisation

It remains to consider Hitler's attitude to what he calls " inferior races " " The earliest human civilisation was rendered possible, not so much by the taming of animals, as by the employment of men of inferior race " (323) Hence, on the assumption that the Aryan German is the highest human type yet evolved—a premiss no German in the Reich may dispute, whatever outsiders may think of it—it follows that it is his plain duty to conquer, exploit, dispossess, or exterminate other races for his own advantage Poles, Czechs,

Jews, Negroes, and Asiatics are classed together as unworthy of German citizenship, even if they happen to be born as German subjects. Hitler has made his own the Gobineau-Chamberlain thesis of the inequality of races; it is the duty of the National Socialist State to recognise this fact, and "in accordance with the Eternal Will which rules this universe to advance the victory of the better and stronger and demand the subordination of the weaker and worse" (421). In another context he expresses the same idea: in a universe where planets circle round the sun, "Strength is always mistress over Weakness" (267). The implication that mere physical strength is synonymous with higher values would entitle an "Aryan" heavy-weight to enslave a Lister or a Pasteur, a Kepler or a Newton, a Shakespeare or a Praxiteles.

"The ugliest thing in human life is the yoke of slavery," (195), but Hitler appears to contemplate with equanimity imposing this yoke on other races. Not a few observers would suggest that he has already imposed it on Great Germany.

Hitler waxes indignant over any attempt to bring Western science or learning within reach of African native races. Not indeed from the enlightened modesty of the anthropologist who sees virtues in native cultures that are lacking to our sophisticated civilisations, but because "it is a crime against the Eternal Creator" to train "Hottentots and Zulu-caffirs" for intellectual careers; there can be no question of "educating" them, it is a mere "matter of training as with a poodle" (479).

Here is food for thought What will be the fate of native populations who come under the heel of a Nazi Germany? Germany is just opening (July 1938) a College of Colonial Administrators, which will be bound to base its principles on the Nazi Bible, *Mein Kampf*, rather than on the findings of twentieth-century science Its principal is to be an Italian, and Mussolini's Italy has just been converted to Hitler's racialism Germany, with a submissive Italy now in her wake, is putting the clock back with a vengeance

Having re read *Mein Kampf* at a sitting—that is, in four days' intensive work—I closed my eyes and tried to recall what were the impressions that stood out most vividly in my mind They were, in this order

violence
attack
brutality
blood
terror
extermination
intolerance
hate
fanaticism
hysteria
mass suggestion
domination
mastery
blind obedience

Fourteen watchwords of the Gospel according to Adolf Hitler

Half stunned I found myself murmuring "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?"

Then I recalled that Reichsbischof Muller has said "Mercy is an un German conception The word 'mercy' is one of the numerous terms of the Bible with

which we can have nothing to do"; and I gave thanks that there are still countries where the message of the Hebrew prophet may be heard.

Let us not forget that there are 4,000,000 copies of this book, *Mein Kampf*, being compulsorily studied in Germany to-day. On the living, vital importance of *Mein Kampf* in German life see Captain A. L. Kennedy's letters to *The Times* of October 20 and 29, 1938.

PART II

EXAMINATION OF ROSENBERG'S *MYTHUS*

"Alfred Rosenberg's *Mythus* is scarcely less deserving of attention than *Mein Kampf* and even more indigestible"

SETON WATSON, *Britain and the Dictators*, 1938.

CHAPTER VIII

THUS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Germany is encouraged to speculate about Alfred Rosenberg's [1] racial origins nor to ask to see his *Ahnentafel*, for he was one of Hitler's educators in the early Munich days, and has retained influence over the Fuhrer ever since. He is still "Supervisor for the Intellectual Training of the National Socialist Party." There seems, however, little doubt that Rosenberg is a White Russian of mixed, and partly Jewish, ancestry. To account, when necessary, for such occasional racial anomalies, the Nazis have invented a theory that in exceptional cases "Nordic souls may be found in un-Nordic bodies" and vice versa. The Nazi Bureau of Race Research is empowered to give certificates to selected non-Aryans whose co-operation is indispensable to Field-Marshal Goring's Four-year Plan. It can pronounce them "pure Aryan in character and body" and confer on them the full status of a German Citizen (Volksgenosse), but quite illogically does not permit them to marry an Aryan woman.[2]

Hitler, as we have seen (above, p. 65), has no great use for learning or for books. The internal evidence

[1] Excellent character studies of the chief Nazi personalities: Hitler, Goring, Goebbels, Streicher, Hess, Rosenberg, etc., will be found in John Gunther's *Inside Europe* and in Konrad Heiden's *History of National Socialism*; *Hitler*, and *One Man against Europe* (this last forthcoming as a "Penguin Special")

[2] "When is a Jew not a Jew?" by Frederic Sondern, in the *Reader's Digest* for September, 1938

of *Mein Kampf* sufficiently proves that he has done no systematic reading in his life and has no acquaintance with literature.

Those who are in a position to know assert that whatever knowledge he has picked up has been learnt only by word of mouth. He realised nevertheless that a standard Nazi literature was necessary, to create and preserve a unity of faith among his subordinate leaders and propagandists. In February 1930 Alfred Rosenberg, who can boast more education than the Führer, published in Munich a pseudo-philosophical-mystical treatise, *Der Mythus des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (The Mythus of the Twentieth Century), " A Valuation of the Spiritual-intellectual Conflicts of Our Time," (Eine Wertung der seelisch-geistigen Gestaltenkämpfe unserer Zeit) of which the publishers say: " A grandiose race-psychological survey which offers us a quite overwhelming wealth of insight and knowledge in the domain of human history, religion, and civilisation from a philosophical standpoint. In this book, informed by amazing learning, Rosenberg proves himself a thinker of genius and a gifted seer, the penetrating glance of whose clear eye when turned on the past pierces the mists of vanished millennia and when cast forward points the only correct path into the future. *The Mythus of the Twentieth Century* is the Mythus of the Blood which, under the Sign of the Swastika, released the World Revolution. It is the Awakening of the Soul of the Race which, after a period of long slumber, victoriously puts an end to Racial Chaos."

The *Mythus*, in short, was to supply for the high-

brows and would be intellectuals of National Socialism what *Mein Kampf* had provided for the masses

Heiden relates that when the book was complet Rosenberg sent the MS to Hitler for his approva He kept it by him for a year, and then returned it u read, saying that it was sure to be all right The boo provoked a storm of criticism—which, in view of it contents, was not unnatural Hitler was not yc Chancellor, and criticism was still possible in Germany When the storm burst, Rosenberg wrote to Hitle offering to resign his offices and quit the Party Hitle endorsed the letter "I shouldn't dream of it You will stay!" (*Fallt mir nicht ein, Sie bleiben!*)

The book, whose nature the reader will have divined from the blurb, is now in its 110th edition, the next best seller in Germany after *Mein Kampf* By last year 553,000 copies had been sold, and by official com mand there must be a copy in the library of every senior school In the 1937 Preface to the fifth hundred thousand, Rosenberg claims that the success of the *Mythus* "shows that my work has become a part of the very life of the German people (ein Stuck Leben des deutschen Volkes) and has taken inward hold of millions who have had the courage to cast from them what had been outlived and march forward courageously towards a new future Throughout all Germany souls and spirits (Geister und Seelen) have undergone a decisive metamorphosis"

There exists no English translation of the *Mythus* Whether translation rights could have been obtained for a trustworthy edition, or whether, as in the case of

lein Kampf, they would have been denied, I do not now; but having as a stern duty twice read the *Mythus* through with considerable care, I am convinced hat no English reader would voluntarily read more han half a dozen of its seven hundred pages, even if a public-spirited publisher were found to risk the book in an English edition. Even so short a sample would leave a non-German dumb with amazement that anyone could put over this ecstatic, mystical, often meaningless bombast on any people and successfully pass it off as a serious interpretation of history, philosophy, religion, art, and literature. The phenomenon is there, however. The sole deduction to be drawn is that the purchasers and students of the *Mythus* are those young enthusiasts whose reasoning powers have been paralysed by years of Hitler's oratory and whose main intellectual training has been the study of *Mein Kampf*.

Happily, an examination of this vital book is here unnecessary, for the Friends of Europe have analysed it in four admirable pamphlets[1] where its various aspects may be studied.

Rosenberg's campaign " to create a new human type out of a new Life Myth (Lebensmythus) is directed equally against the Roman and the Evangelical Faiths, both of which he represents as foster-parents and allies

[1] No. 26. *The "Mythus": An Answer by Hüffmeier* (Berlin).
No. 44. *The "Mythus": The Character of the New Religion*, by John Arzenden, M.A., D.D. (London).
No. 46. *The "Mythus": Worship of Race*, by Professor Charles A. Beard (U.S.A.).
No. 48. *The "Mythus": International Implications*, by the Rt. Hon. Josiah Wedgwood, M.P.

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of Marxism and Pacifism. It is the first duty of National Socialism to eradicate both Marxism and Pacifism from German Life, and "to restore the freedom (Unbefangenheit) of healthy Blood" (*My.* 17)[1]—whatever that may mean.

The bulk of this ambitious book is devoted to an elaborate analysis—bolstered up by an impressive display of bogus erudition and distorted history—of the political, religious, and æsthetic history of mankind in the light of the Nazi racial creed. It contains many interesting pronouncements. The Christian conception of sin "is a bye-product of physical bastardisation" (*My.* 71). Our day sees the birth of a New Faith: "The incarnate faith that Nordic Blood represents that Mystery which has overcome and superseded the ancient sacraments" (*My.* 114).

All talk of the internationality of Science and Art is democratic patter. There is no such thing as abstract Art. "Art is always the creation of a given blood . . . and can be understood only by people of that same blood" (*My.* 120). Similarly with Science. Everything which we to-day know as abstract Science is a product of creative Germanic blood.

Two opposing values have for two thousand years fought for the soul of Europe: Love and Honour. "The Churches sought to rule by Love; northern Europe wanted to live free in honour, and in honour to die free" (*My.* 146). Which ideal is to conquer? queries Rosenberg—"Love, humility, renunciation, submissiveness on the one hand, or Honour,

[1] *Page references are to the last (1937) edition of the Mythus.*

dignity, self-assertion, pride on the other?" (*My* 168)

Rosenberg has as little use as Hitler for "Humanity" as a religion It was "Humanity" which, he asserts, coined the slogan, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, which in turn gave birth to "that chaotic, disruptive phenomenon, Democracy" (*My.* 201) During the nineteenth century these pernicious doctrines (as Rosenberg considers them) undermined German character, and "thanks to 'Humanity,' Niggers and Jews could marry into the Nordic race and even hold high office" (*My* 203)

The Jews are as much anathema to Rosenberg as to Hitler While Nordic Vikings of old went forth dreaming of Honour and Conquest and State-building, the Jew went out into the world as a destructive force, "not to conquer like a hero, but to make the world tributary (zinsbar) to him" (*My* 460) The Jews were "chosen" only to live as blood-suckers on all nations (angesaught an alle Nationen) (*My* 465)

The new religion which Rosenberg commends to his compatriots may be summed up in one paragraph "The idea of Honour—National Honour—is for us the beginning and end of all thought and of all action It can tolerate no equal motive force (kein gleichwertiges Kraftzentrum) beside itself, neither Christian Love nor the Freemason's Humanity nor Roman Philosophy" (*My* 514)

Three ingredients go to the making of national German Honour the idea of Honour incarnate in Frederick the Great (which we see glimpses of below,

in Chapter X), Moltke's method of discipline, and Bismarck's Sacred Will "These are the myths which must mould the typical German of the future" (*My* 521-2)

The Spirit of the Future has clearly formulated his demands "He began his rule on January 30, 1933" (*My* 528)

At this point Rosenberg lets himself go in working out the Fuhrer's claim to space for the German nation to expand till it shall fill the whole of Central Europe It is quite possible indeed that Hitler was originally indebted to Rosenberg for this ambition, but the Leader, as we have seen, does not acknowledge his indebtednesses In any case the ambition was a favourite one of Bismarckian and pre War Germany "The creative works of Freedom," writes Rosenberg, can begin to take shape only when a nation has "room to breathe and soil to till" The battle-cry of the New German race must be "With Sword and Plough for Honour and Freedom!" (*My* 534) How other races are to stand aside while this expansion is carried out is then indicated

If France were wise she would set her house in order, aim deliberately at ridding herself of Jews and negroes, and content herself with a territory proportionate to her population "Germany could permit such a France to live unhindered in accordance with her own culture" (*My* 641)

The Russian must seek his centre of gravity in Asia, "there is no longer room for him in Europe" (*My* 642) The slogan of the future must be "A Nordic Europe!" with a German Europe occupying the whole centre

America must repatriate her negroes to Africa get rid

of her yellow immigrants, and content herself within her own borders instead of seeking colonies abroad.

When the renaissance of Europe has been effected "by a system of states based on race . . . to secure the political rule of the White Race throughout the world" (*My.* 675), Germany will then at last find for her hundred millions room to live. It is worth noting that Rosenberg is more modest in his demands than Hitler, who already in 1926 demanded room for his future 250 millions.

The Third Reich which the author envisages must demand that all citizens shall regulate their every action by the consideration of what will most exalt German Honour. Personal freedom must yield to the interests of the State. Big cities are outposts of Bolshevism and also are danger-spots in modern war; they must be destroyed and the people replaced on the land. Whether they will or no, men must be compelled to regain health and breeding-power in the country or in small towns, and shall not be left free "wilfully to perish on city pavements."

The New Germany demands a New Law: "Law (Recht) is what Aryan men consider right (*My.* 572). . . . What serves German honour is the one and only law" (*My.* 591).

Freedom to immigrate into Germany must be reserved for people of Nordic stock, Scandinavians, and the like, and sternly denied to half-breed (mulattisierte) elements from south or east. Marriage between Jews and Germans must be forbidden "as long as Jews are permitted to live in Germany at all" (*My.* 579).

The Nazi attitude to women is expounded by Rosenberg at great length in a whole separate section on "The State and the Sexes" (483–522) Hitler had already laid it down that no German woman would normally attain the rights of citizenship until she was married (above, p 77), Rosenberg goes further still The State is the creation of a community of men, it is not the joint product of man and woman, any sign of women's exercising influence on the State is an obvious symptom of decay, their co-operation, however well meant, could only be disastrous, women may indeed be permitted to rule society, but men must rule the State The level of culture in America is conspicuously low, this is the direct result of the United States permitting too much influence to women

The nineteenth century did homage to the "four-tailed false god" of the "universal, equal, direct, and secret Vote" The world has now awakened to the fact that the right to vote is no magician's wand, but an instrument of disintegration (Zersetzungswerkzeug) Woman's suffrage must therefore be abolished—and man's suffrage too! A national State cannot tolerate decisions being made by the masses, its measures must be concerted by responsible personalities

"The man's rôle in the world and in life is inventive, constructive, synthesis-creating, the woman's role is lyric" (*Mf* 508) This delightful phrase is not intentionally funny, but one would like to confront Rosenberg with a deputation of able British and American women and hear them tell him lyrically what exactly they thought of his book in general and of his sex-

philosophy in particular He seems indeed to have felt some misgivings himself, and to forestall unpleasantness he hastens to add "Woman, on the other hand, represents a world the beauty and peculiar character of which are not inferior but equal to the man's world" (*My* 509)

The Third Reich will base itself on monogamy, but it must not be forgotten that the Germanic race could never have persisted as it did throughout history without periods of polygyny The future State will therefore not discriminate between legitimate and illegitimate children, and will accord the same honour to the unmarried as to the married mother, for since women outnumber men, "the offspring of healthy, unmarried women mean additional strength for the German community In a German Reich of the future a woman who has no children—whether she is married or not—will be considered a second-rate member of the community" (*My* 595)

A new Nobility must be created In addition to other qualifications, its members must be both in fact *and in appearance* at least 80 per cent Nordic The "in appearance" is entertaining, how many of the leading Nazis of to-day would qualify for one of Rosenberg's peerages? The main new orders of Nobility must be a Peasant Peerage and a Sword Peerage, for peasants and soldiers are physically the cream of the population, and moreover, those most likely to father healthy children The Reich must be very chary of bestowing peerages on artists, scholars, or politicians, but outstanding services

in the domains of art, learning, and politics may occasionally deserve such recognition. The confirmation of a title of nobility must depend on its owner's personally proving his worth "in battle for Germany" (in Kampf für Deutschland) (*My.* 597).

The question of a new Religion for the new Germany is one which frankly baffles Rosenberg. He sees no new religious Nazi prophet to command allegiance, and somewhat feebly asserts that a "German People's Church" (eine deutsche Volkskirche) is bound to arise of itself (*My.* 602) Meantime, the Old Testament must be got rid of (abgeschafft) once and for all (*My.* 603) and the New Testament, purged of its superstitious and miraculous elements,[1] must be supplemented by a fifth gospel, written by a man "who must have experienced the yearning for purification as profoundly as he has pursued his researches into the knowledge (Wissenschaft) of the New Testament" (*My.* 604).

Christ's Germanic descent[2] having been established to the Nazi's satisfaction, Jesus is now revealed to

[1] For the Nazi method of re-editing the New Testament, see below, p 148.

[2] See Stewart Houston Chamberlain's *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*. A delightful article on "Was Christ a Jew?" may be found in the *Stürmer*, No. 15, April 1938. The argument of its author, Karl Holz, may be thus summarised: It is a law that no non-Nordic doctrine can develop amongst Nordic peoples. Christ's teaching flourished for 2,000 years amongst Nordic peoples, therefore Christ was not a Jew. *Quod erat demonstrandum* See *Friends of Europe, Monthly Summary*, for May 1938.

Rosenberg's readers as the "self-confident Master" (selbstbewusster Herr). Crucifixes must be banished from churches and village streets. Mediæval representations of Christ as the Lamb of God are unworthy; in the German Church Christ must be represented as "the teaching Spirit of Fire" (der lehrende Feuergeist). All great artists of the Nordic West have portrayed Jesus as "slim, tall, blond, with narrow head and upright brow" (*My.* 616).

It is undeniable that the religion of Jesus was a doctrine of Love, but a German religion which is to develop into a National Church must insist that "the ideal of Love for one's neighbour must be subordinated to the idea of National Honour" (*My.* 608). A German National Church will not attempt to defend metaphysical theses or to demand belief in any given historic narratives, but to create a lofty sense of values (die Schaffung eines hohen Wertgefühls). Nordic sagas and fairy-tales from Odin to Walther von der Vogelweide will displace "Old Testament stories of souteneurs and cattle-coupers."

The first aim of education must be to build character rather than merely to impart knowledge. The former "unlimited freedom of teaching in every direction" must cease (*My.* 629). School teaching must on no account be left in the hands of the existing Churches. The basic principle of every form of German education must be that "it is not Christianity which has brought civilisation and morality (Gesittung), but that Christianity owes its enduring value to the Germanic character" (*My.* 636). "The symbol of organic German truth

to-day is indisputably the black swastika" (*My.* 689) "The German's sacred hour will strike when the Symbol of Awakening, the Flag with the sign of Resurgent Life, has become the sole and ruling confession of the Reich" (*My.* 701).

• • • • •

I have endeavoured to give the English reader a very brief indication of the main positive and constructive ideas contained in Rosenberg's famous *Mythus*; but by passing over on the one hand the misstatements and misinterpretations of history, and on the other the mystical raptures and rhapsodies, the intoxicating incoherencies and incredible windinesses of the book—which would be as unintelligible in English as they are in German—I have inevitably conveyed too favourable an idea of its contents and its structure. As Professor Charles Beard has bluntly said, Rosenberg's *Mythus* "merely carries to its complete, final, and logical absurdity . . . the stark, crude, brutal ignorance of the . . . German Nazis. All that can be said for it is that it belongs in the same intellectual and emotional class as witchcraft, astrology, and demonology."

PART III

NAZISM IN PRACTICE

"We take sides in teaching History, and our side is Germany. . . We do not want to teach unbiased History. . . . We ucate our young people to recognise exclusively the rights of eir own nationality."

ARL F. STURM, *Geschichtslehre In den Volksschulen des N.S. Staates.*
History Teaching in the Elementary Schools of the Nazi State.)

"The sole earthly criterion of whether an enterprise is right r wrong is its success."

Mein Kampf, p. 377.

"The methods by which a people forces its way upwards are f no moment; only the goal which is reached is important."

GOEBBELS, at Stuttgart, *September* 4, 1938.

CHAPTER IX

NAZISM AND THE OUTER WORLD

"The sole instrument with which foreign policy can be conducted is alone and exclusively—the Sword"—GOEBBELS in *Der Angriff*, May 28, 1931

AFTER thirteen years of honest effort, the maligned Weimar Republic, with Hindenburg still at its head, with Brüning and Stresemann enlisting the understanding and sympathy of the world, was resuming a place of honour among the nations, reparations were being whittled down to sums which it was reasonable and possible to pay, Germany had been welcomed to the League of Nations; the Allied troops had evacuated the Rhineland The territorial readjustment of Versailles, representing the first disinterested and honourable attempt in history to do international justice after a great war, though inevitably leaving a few minorities stranded in alien territory, had released nine nations and eighty million people from foreign domination, and the Succession States were rejoicing in their newfound freedom and gradually finding their feet[1] Men's minds were hopefully conceiving a World Comity of Nations, a Federation of the Peoples, in which international law should be respected and war should be no more

A few more years of such progress as had been made since 1919 and the dream might have come true But

[1] See Douglas Reed *Insanity Fair*, and Seton Watson *Britain and the Dictators*

Mein Kampf has shown how Hitler, the schoolboy failure, the adolescent loafer, the unsuccessful worker, the Austrian deserter, the none-too-brilliant soldier (for in four years of war, where promotion was unprecedentedly rapid, he rose only to the rank of corporal), had spent those thirteen years " fitting himself to be leader and fitting the German people to be led," as he told us in Cologne, not by supporting the young and promising Republic, not in seeking appeasement, but in lashing an emotional people to a frenzy of fear, indignation, and hate, distorting history till the Republican Government was a gang of traitors. Germany was not the aggressor but the victim of the World War, her armies not beaten but victorious, her future existence dependent, not on co-operation but recalcitrance, her sole hope in strength and violence and readiness for war. If only honest old Hindenburg had been twenty years younger and could have packed off " the Bohemian Corporal," as he liked to call him, to be " a country postmaster and lick the stamps with my head on them," how much suffering Germany and the world would have been saved !

When once Hitler had talked himself into the Chancellorship and jockeyed himself with extraordinary promptitude and skill and all lack of either decency or scruple into Hindenburg's shoes before their owner was yet cold,[1] he forthwith proceeded to repudiate, not only the " dictated " peace of Versailles—what peace in history was not dictated by the victors ?—but Locarno,

[1] See Rudolf Olden: *Hitler the Pawn;* and Wheeler-Bennett: *Hindenburg, the Wooden Titan.*

which had been voluntarily signed by Germany in 1925 and voluntarily endorsed by himself in 1935, to violate at every point the Concordat with the Pope which he had himself negotiated, to quit the Disarmament Conference, and to march out of the League cocking a vulgar snook at it by proxy

Let us see how the foreign policy outlined in *Mein Kampf* is to be translated into the practical Military Science (Wehrwissenschaft) of the Third Reich, by taking a look at Ewald Banse's *Raum und Volk* (*Space and People*) We need glance only cursorily at it, for it is available in an excellent unabridged English translation [1]

The book was published in Germany in 1932, and in February 1933, immediately after Hitler became Chancellor, the author—obviously on the strength of it—was appointed Professor of Military Science at the Technical High School in Brunswick It is true that when Wickham Steed called the attention of the English reading public to the doctrines of the book, the work was at once officially banned and its teachings disclaimed as "senseless babblings,' but Banse remained and remains Professor of Military Science

From the author's preface " The day of grim resolve and cold steel has begun the sword will come to its own again The Third Reich, as we dream of it can only be born in blood and iron '

[1] *Germany, Prepare for War !* by Ewald Banse translated by Alan Harris (Lovat Dickson) 1934 cheap edition 1935 My quotations are from Mr Harris's translation about to appear as a ' Penguin Special

With great acumen and real learning, Banse expounds the geographical and psychological factors in war, and analyses the national characteristics of the European peoples and the various types of men with whom a commander has to reckon: "The stormers, stickers, and scuttlers."

He dissects the failures and mistakes of the last war on every front: "Let us take care next time to *be* a Great Power first and demonstrate the fact afterwards." The fatal initial mistake made by Germany was in marching through Belgium only, instead of occupying Holland as well. The double treachery would have brought no more odium, and the gain would have been immense.

He then sets out "modestly to indicate our aspirations for the future." These begin by cutting a large slice off north-eastern France. This has the drawback of including a French population, but the difficulty could be got over by "making a present of these sons and daughters of France to their under-populated motherland." The necessary victims having been thus deported, Germany's new frontier would ensure that "the opening engagements in the war after next" shall be fought in a region where the natural defences are fewer and whence Paris can be reached more easily. Germany will then be in possession of the Channel ports of Calais and Boulogne, which hold the pistol to England's head; and the coal- and iron-mines of Lille and Briey will be in her hands.

Hitler has stated that France must be annihilated before Germany can carry out her design of becoming a

"Master People." Banse sees France's main strength in the originally Germanic elements of the north. "One of the most important tasks *for the establishment of peace on earth* is the weakening, nay the extermination . . . of this Germanic element." This end can be achieved by reducing their numbers in ruthless wars, by deporting detachments of them to eastern Germany, there to become absorbed, and by cross-breeding the remainder with negroes and southerners. Germany will thus be able to retaliate on France for all the wrongs done to her in earlier centuries. "The ruling class of Republican France compels one's admiration," writes this amiable professor; "all the more reason why it must be destroyed."

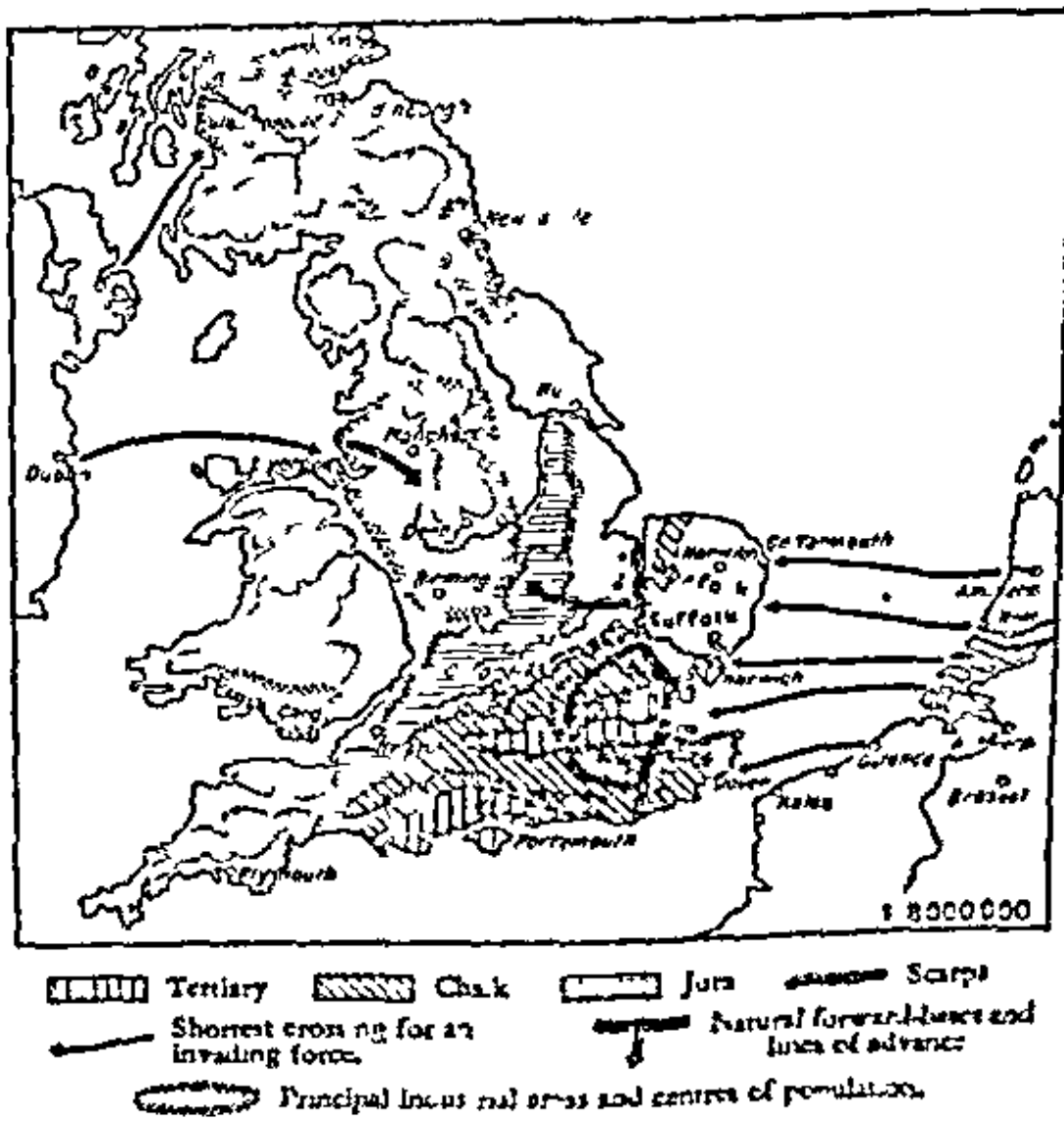
Banse constantly refers to Germany's desire for peace, but it is the peace of which Hitler has spoken (above, pp. 61, 62), only to be attained when the German has entirely subjugated the world. "It is a question of eat or be eaten," he says, "but for the peace of the world it is undoubtedly better that the final victory should rest with a peace-loving nation like the German."

As for Belgium, it is one of those miserable little States which are merely part of France's sinister design for destroying Germany. Germany must annex the country in whole or in part. He pays Britain the compliment of admitting that the British are people of "incredible tenacity" and of "unswerving determination," but happily for Germany they have been "pampered for centuries," and it is almost certain that they would not face starvation or even any real degree of

privation. Here follows the passage which would appear "rank blasphemy" if a whisper of it should reach those English ears for which it is not intended (above, p. 9). "We confess that it gives us pleasure to meditate on the destruction that must sooner or later overtake this proud and seemingly invincible nation, and to think that this country which was last conquered in 1066 will once more obey a foreign master." This will moreover be easy of achievement. France annihilated—Holland, Belgium, and South Denmark annexed—the German coastline running westwards from Denmark along the English Channel and south down the Atlantic to the Pyrenees—British sea-power paralysed—the invasion of England will be child's play, as Banse demonstrates on the accompanying map.

So, in brief, runs the section of Banse which more immediately concerns us, but it belongs to "the war after next." In preparation for that war, Germany will have annexed all the agricultural and mineral wealth of Central Europe, the Balkans, and the Ukraine, for wars of the future will not be "fought with bayonets alone, but with corn and meat, oils and fats, iron, nickel, wool and cotton, railways and lorries . . . characters and souls. . . ."

And since souls are the most important factor of all, German babies must be taught to lisp "God bless our arms!" and every form of propaganda employed to secure "the mobilisation of men's mind' Wehrwissenschaft must become, "not a mere branch of knowledge," but "a general mental atmosphere," and



BANSE'S MAP SHOWING PLAN FOR INVASION OF ENGLAND

(Reproduced by courtesy of Messrs Lovat Dickson)

in the future "every German will be judged first and last . . . by the place he fills in the scheme of national defence." Military Science must be taught, not only in the Army, the university, and the technical schools, but as a compulsory subject in the secondary schools and in the upper forms of primary schools.

Germany is quietly working through the list of countries to annex, preferably of course without war—for Hitler vastly prefers to get something for nothing.[1] Austria has gone, Czechoslovakia has gone; amongst the next immediate items as listed by Banse are: Danzig, Luxemburg, Holland (and her East Indies), "German"-Belgium (and her Congo), "German"-France (Flanders, Alsace-Lorraine, and the French Soudan), "German"-Yugoslavia, "German"-Poland, "German"-Lithuania, "German"-Denmark. For the moment perhaps "German"-Italy may be left to the last, in deference to the Rome-Berlin axis.

That this stately list of immediate desiderata is no mere "babbling" of Banse's is proved by the fact that an almost identical list is published in the *Official Year-Book of the Hitler Jungvolk* in 1937, and that the names of these "German territories are inscribed on the Feldherrenhalle in Munich, where sentries keep guard night and day, wreaths are daily renewed, and every passer-by salutes the sacred spot."[2]

[1] Yeats Brown, Lord Londonderry, and most recently of all Sir Ian Hamilton (*The Times*, August 8, 1938), are much struck by noting that "Herr Hitler's attitude is strongly for Peace." Why indeed fight if you can get all heart can desire by blarney, blackmail, or bluff?

[2] Professor Roberts: *The House that Hitler Built.*

A prize was recently offered by the German Military Academy for the best essay on "An Attack on Czechoslovakia," and has just been won by the Chief of Staff of the 18th Army Corps in Salzburg, a Colonel Conrad The text of it is worth study,[1] though Berchtesgaden–Godesberg–Munich have rendered it otiose

Addressing the League of German Maidens in 1936, just after the Abyssinian War, Hitler said "If I should ever want to attack an enemy, I should do it differently from Mussolini I should not negotiate and make preparations for months *As I have always done*, I should fall upon my enemy suddenly, like lightning striking out of the night"[2] We saw the lightning method put brilliantly into practice on March 12, 1938, when Austria was felled without a moment's breathing space to rally a friend or to strike a blow in self-defence, and no less brilliantly brought to bear at Godesberg and Munich

The methods to be employed in a future war are systematically analysed by Ewald Banse in Section 5 of a small monograph on *Wehrwissenschaft*, first published in 1932, second edition "on the anniversary of the Shame-Verdict of Versailles, 1933," therefore with full approval of Hitler's propaganda department This publication also was ostensibly "banned" the moment the drift of it was communicated to the British public by *The Times* Correspondent in Berlin

Poison Gas Attack and Air Raid Defence must be

[1] It is quoted in full in the Monthly Survey of German Publications for July 1938, *Friends of Europe*, price 6*d*

[2] *Ibid*

developed to the uttermost: "The development of flying and of gas warfare is perhaps the most important legacy of the World War to the Future. The two together make it possible to carry war far into the enemy country from the first moment of mobilisation and before the enemy has time to evolve effective measures of defence; to destroy the centres of war-industry, to disorganise mobilisation, to raze the enemy capital, and to spread confusion, uncertainty, and fear in all directions. The next war will not be a war of fronts and frontiers, but a war of entire peoples and countries, involving soldier and civilian, infant and greybeard, dwelling and factory. . . .

"So far the employment of Biology as a weapon of war has lagged behind the use of Chemistry, but it may be presumed that Biology will win its place among the essentials of the next war. The possibilities to be considered are: the poisoning of water-supplies, the introduction of typhus by fleas and of plague by artificially infected rats. Aeroplanes could effect a landing in the enemy's hinterland and set free the disease-carriers. This should yield remarkably favourable results" (35–7).

A journal of the General Staff, *Die deutsche Wehr*, published on June 13, 1935, an article entitled "The Twilight of the Gods," demonstrating that in the next war "there will no longer be victors and vanquished, but on the one hand survivors and on the other those whose name is stricken from the list of nations." In the new war "one nation will put an end to its opponent."

In the same periodical, December 1935, another article explains how Germany must qualify herself for the rôle of "survivor" There must be no "civilians", every single individual must be infected with the "monomania of war," which must fill each member of the nation so completely as to "leave room for nothing else," becoming "his great passion, his sole pleasure, his vice, his sport"

After the "banning" of Banse's two books (which remained available for all students of Military Science), the German Teachers' Union, in its journal *Die deutsche Schule*, published an article by him stating that in any future war against France the campaign should be conducted by means of poisoned rats, fleas, and plague germs [1]

It is not, however, by war alone, nor by blackmailing threats of war, that Hitler's Germany sets out to thrust her type of "peace" on a reluctant world Military Science includes the use of extensive and intensive propaganda, espionage, and agitation Nazi doctrines must be forced on all "Germans," regardless of political boundaries (above, p 78) Hence every country which has the misfortune to be of kindred stock or to have given a home to a German minority, to immigrants or visitors, has its domestic peace violently disturbed by Nazi sedition and intrigue In the official *National Socialist Year Book of* 1934 Austria was already ranked as District No 33 of the German Nazi Organisation, and the Austrian SA was reckoned the

[1] See Erckner *Hitler's Conspiracy against Peace* translated by Emile Burns

VIIIth Division of the German Sturm Abteilung directly under the orders of Munich Day and night Germany poured forth a stream of wireless propaganda, urging violent resistance to the lawful Government of the Federal State[1] German hirelings went systematically to work with bombs and terror[2] which culminated in the murder of the Federal Chancellor, Dollfuss, whom the assassins left to bleed to death without medical aid to ease his body or spiritual comfort for his soul With almost sublime hypocrisy Hitler sent a message expressing horrified surprise at the outrage—the exploit of his own hired assassins—but July 25, 1938, the Fourth Anniversary of Dollfuss's murder, was celebrated throughout Great Germany's new province of Austria as a " Festival of National Pride "[3]

Hitler has never concealed his admiration for murderers who happened to be on his side Before he came into power, the *Volkischer Beobachter's* columns were filled with headlines in black and red reporting the eternal street and tavern brawls that raged throughout Germany between the brown shirted SA and the Social Democrats and Communists The wicked and cowardly Red murderers were reviled, but the noble and heroic Brownshirts, who had stirred up the trouble and introduced the practice of assassination, were exalted as national patriots when they survived, and mourned as

[1] See Konrad Heiden *Ein Mann gegen Europa* shortly to appear in English as a ' Penguin Special *One Man against Europe*

[2] See Willi Frischauer *Twilight in Vienna* translated by E. O. Lorimer

[3] See *King Hall Newsletter* No 107, July 22, 1938

martyrs when they fell. When five SA men in Potempa attacked an unarmed and defenceless Social Democrat of advanced years, stabbed their victim with daggers, and stamped on the dying man's throat under the eyes of his wife, Hitler proclaimed these noble fellows his "comrades" to whom he was bound in "absolute loyalty" and against whose "monstrous death sentence" he promised to agitate with all his resources. They were in due course amnestied in March 1933 (see below, p. 140). It need surprise no one that the Nazi Germany which erected a monument to the murderers of Rathenau now renders homage to the murderers of Dollfuss.

Nazi sedition, bought and paid for by Germany, was the first step in Austria's downfall. Similarly Sudeten Bohemians, who it must be remembered never in history were Germans but always Bohemians, were used as a lever to cause the crash of Czechoslovakia. All the while, similar work is going on relentlessly and unremittingly in Denmark, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Danubia, and the Balkans, in America, Brazil, South Africa, in Arabia, Iraq, and Palestine—and Britain.[1] Wherever two or three Germans are gathered together, there is the spirit of Hitler, Göring, and Goebbels in the midst of them. Resentment against this type of aggression is steadily growing. A symptom of it may be seen in Switzerland's encourage-

[1] See "Nazi Propaganda," in the *New Statesman and Nation*, July 23, 1938.

This new technique of aggression is fully analysed in Elwyn Jones: *The Battle for Peace* (August 1938).

ment of Schwytzerdütsch (*The Times*, August 12, 1938).

Every Auslandsdeutscher (German abroad) is taped and card-indexed and kept under rigorous Nazi supervision. If he fails to attend the German Club so paternally provided for him, he will pay for his slackness on his return, or his relations will pay for it before. Willy-nilly every German or ex-Austrian anywhere is an active Nazi agent. Friends of mine had an Austrian maid. No sooner was Hitler in Vienna than she was summoned to the German Embassy. Her Austrian passport was impounded and replaced by a German one, and she was compelled to fill up a questionnaire showing what qualifications and opportunity she had for obtaining information in England. In another case within my immediate knowledge, an Austrian nursemaid was sent for to record a Yes-vote for the Anschluss. Her employers, at the cost of some inconvenience, set her free to go. A few days later came an invitation to attend a reunion at the German Embassy. It was not easily possible to release her again, and her host courteously wrote to explain the domestic circumstances and to excuse her non-appearance. By return of post she received an imperative command to seek other employment.

With every wish to feel kindly and behave hospitably to German strangers in our midst, it behoves us to remember that each and every one is a potential spy.

Hitler has now persuaded Mussolini to propound the doctrine of the racial purity of Italy and embark on a

Jew-baiting campaign,[1] despite the noble and courageous protest of the Pope.[2] The world might feel some amusement at this contagion of racial arrogance were not the matter too grave for ridicule or laughter. How baseless are all the racial theories of Gobineau-Chamberlain-Hitler-Mussolini has been crushingly set forth by the two biologists Haddon and Julian Huxley in their valuable study *We Europeans*; but hysteria, fanaticism, and profitable intolerance have no ears for science. If Jew-baiting spread eastwards, as well it may, another five million innocent and helpless victims will fall a prey to persecution, and create yet more problems for those States where the words "humanity" and "mercy" still have a place in the dictionary.

Hardly less subtle, and in Nazi hands even more deadly, is the weapon of economic pressure by which Germany has unobtrusively been acquiring a strangle-hold on the Danubian and Balkan States. Trading on her honourable pre-Hitler reputation for commercial integrity, and on the obvious fact that an industrial country adjacent to agricultural ones offers a natural market for their foodstuffs and a natural supplier of their needs, Nazi Germany concluded barter agreements, which on the face of them appeared to promise mutual and equal benefit to all parties concerned.

The smaller States could not foresee the successive financial manœuvres which emanated from what Seton Watson has justly called "the fertile and relentless brain" of Dr. Schacht. Germany first piled up a

[1] *The Times*, July 26, 1938. [2] *Ibid*, July 30, 1938.

unpaid debt, and then refused to furnish the desired by the creditor countries. She would supply nothing for which she could get a cash market elsewhere; but they could have unlimited aspirins and second-hand armaments, which she herself was discarding for more up-to-date types, and they could have—mouth-organs. She even took larger supplies of wheat, tobacco, raisins, timber, etc., than she intended to keep, and unloaded them on the world—for cash—at the low prices which her subsidised export department could afford, thus destroying the market for the actual producing countries. To add insult to injury, she insisted that firms trading with her must dismiss their Jewish employees, and must subscribe to the funds of the Nazi groups in their own countries, the funds of political seditionists who were working to undermine and overthrow their own Governments. A well-informed *exposé* of these unprecedented trading methods which virtually make the victim-country the slave of " one of the world's worst debtors " will be found in the *Banker* for February 1937 and still more recently in Paul Einzig's *Bloodless Invasion* (Duckworth, 1938), both of which are documents of the utmost authority and importance.

Within two days of Munich, the reduction of Czechoslovakia to a vassal state was being exploited by Dr. Funk in his triumphal tour of the capitals of Balkan and Near Eastern countries and has brought Germany a new harvest of these one-sided barter agreements.

CHAPTER X

THE CONTINUITY OF PRUSSIANISM

PORTRAITS and busts of Frederick the Great adorn Hitler's mountain refuge in Berchtesgaden, and echoes of Frederick's political maxims are heard in *Mein Kampf* and in the Fuhrer's speeches, while their application is traceable in his every act [1]

Mr A W McKnight calls my attention to a book published in Boston in 1870, a translation from the French by Colonel S H S Inglefield of *The Mornings of the King of Prussia, Frederick II, called the Great*. A few extracts from these conversations are not irrelevant

"As to war, it is a trade, in which any the least scruple would spoil everything Do not suffer yourself, dear Nephew, to be dazzled by the word 'Justice' I *should never* have done anything if I had been hampered (by it)'

With delightful frankness Frederick says "Policy and villainy are almost synonymous terms 'it is good policy to be always attempting something and to be perfectly persuaded that we have a right to everything that suits us I mean by the word policy that *we must always try to dupe other people* Do not be ashamed of making interested alliances from which only you yourself can derive the whole advantage Do not make the mistake of not breaking them when you

[1] See Wickham Steed Frederick the Great to Hitler, *International Affairs* October 1938

that your interest requires. Uphold the
that to despoil your neighbours is to deprive
the means of injuring you."

As for "German Honour," the Rosenberg-Hitler
nception of this oddly-named virtue was also
ederick the Great's: "When Prussia," he says,
shall have made her fortune, it will be time enough
r her to give herself the air of fidelity to her engage-
ents."

Never could Frederick the Great have hoped to find
o apt a pupil as Hitler, the Führer, whose five and a
alf brief years of power have been strewn with more
roken vows than it would have seemed possible to
crowd into the time. We need recall only a few:
Locarno; the Concordat with the Vatican; the Pact
with Austria (July 11, 1936) guaranteeing her inde-
pendence; the statement at the beginning of the anti-
Jew campaign that Jews who had fought in the War
should be exempt from persecution, whereas the very
names of their dead comrades have been, by order of
Goebbels, deleted from Germany's War Memorials;
ie solemn promise made when Conscription was intro-
uced (March 16, 1935) that it should be for one year
nly, while fifteen months later, in August, 1936, it was
xtended without comment to two years; and so on *ad
nfinitum et ad nauseam.*

No one following the course of events since Hitler
seized power in Germany but must endorse Pius XI's
temperate statement of March 14, 1937, that "the
National Socialist State has undermined all future con-
fidence in the value of its word," to which Hitler's

official organ, the *Volkischer Beobachter*, retorted "German Faith (Deutsche Treue) does not consist faithfulness to the letter of a Treaty Faith is loyalty to the German people for ever and every case" [1]

Over the gate in Berchtesgaden are inscribed the words:

MEINE EHRE HEISST TREUE

(My Honour abides in Good Faith) Possibly Dictatorship so dulls the senses that Hitler sees in the words no mockery, but some of those who, like Schuschnigg and Chamberlain, call on him in Berchtesgaden must smile wryly as they pass beneath

Prussia and Prussian methods have always been the object of Hitler's unqualified admiration The discipline of the Prussian Army was to be—and has been—the basis on which the Germany of the Third Reich was organised iron discipline and blind obedience. The Fuhrer can pay no greater compliment to "the great man south of the Alps," from whose methods he has learned so much and whose words so often echo—unacknowledged—in his speeches, than to ejaculate "Mussolini is a Prussian!" What the Duce thinks of such a compliment from the "Bohemian Corporal" who has stolen his thunder and now compels Rome to dance to his piping, contemporaries are unlikely to hear, but it will provide a rich jest for posterity

[1] Konrad Heiden *One Man against Europe*

Hitler's dream of a Great Germany that shall em-
all "Germans," under whatever flag they may
been living for decades or for centuries, is no new

It is a part of his Prussian inheritance The
me ambitions had been loudly voiced before the War,
t unfortunately few Britons could then be induced to
ke them seriously and we paid the penalty of our
vity in the four years 1914–18 and are still paying it.
he Prussian dream was dangerous enough when
reamt by the gifted but unbalanced Kaiser William II,
t is a hundredfold more dangerous when it haunts the
illow of a psychopath with Hitler's genius genius for
elf hypnosis, genius for working up fanatic hysteria in
his emotional and sentimental compatriots, genius for
exploiting all the most modern resources of press, wire-
less, and mass suggestion, genius for divining the
favourable moment for a gigantic bluff

It is common knowledge that his General Staff advised strongly against the sudden occupation of the Rhineland Hitler afterwards admitted that he had not thought there was a 5 per cent chance of success, but he gambled—and won In February 1938 he had to sacrifice fifteen generals, including his Minister for War,[1] before overwhelming Austria in March, but he gambled—and won

Berlin's Intelligence Department had reported Eden's pending resignation Hitler seized the chance of a public speech to make a virulent attack on the Foreign Secretary by name Next day Eden's resignation is announced, and Hitler poses to Europe as the cause of

[1] *The Times* February 7, 1938

his "fall."[1] It was hardly cricket; but it was clever and thoroughly Prussian. The full sorry tale of Berchtesgaden, Godesberg, and Munich has not yet been told; but already we know only too well that again Hitler gambled—and won.

Assuredly Frederick the Great and Bismarck must look down with pride on twentieth-century Prussianism and the ageing Kaiser in Doorn must sigh over lost opportunities.

Different as is the Third Reich of Hitler from the short-lived Second Reich of Bismarck and the Hohenzollerns, the Prussian spirit informing it has not changed; in the hot-house atmosphere of Nazi Germany it has become intensified.

There is the same glorification of war as we knew in Bernhardi: "The inevitableness, the idealism, the blessing of war as an indispensable and stimulating law of development must be continually emphasised" (*Unsere Zukunft, ein Mahnwort an das deutsche Volk*, ed. 1912). The same determination to demand and seize the lands of Europe as Ernst Hasse expressed in 1908: "We need land . . . even when it is inhabited by foreign peoples, in order to be able to shape the future of these peoples according to our needs . . . elbow-room, expansion, land," (*Weltpolitik, Imperialismus und Kolonialpolitik*). At a Pan-German Congress in Erfurt in 1912, Baron von Vietinghoff-Scheel declaimed the same sentiments: "We must acquire new territories for settlement . . . if the German people were ever to fear war, it would cease to live."

[1] See Douglas Reed's *Insanity Fair*.

Hartl, writing in 1912, may have been the word-for-ıd inspiration of Hitler: "New territories will no ıger be offered us upon a salver, but only acquired ith a full purse or with the sword in the hand" *reussen-Deutschlands diplomatische Niederlagen und :ren Folgen*).

The same glorification of hate and passion as inspir-ıg motives: "The majority of peaceable people can be mmediately helped by infusing in them a passion, and n our case this passion can only be hatred. . . . Education to hatred! Education to esteem for hatred! Education to love of hatred! Organisation for hatred! . . . We need not fear to exclaim blasphemously: 'Now abideth Faith, Hope, and Hate, these three, and the greatest of these is Hate!'" so wrote Dr. W. Fuchs, Military Staff Surgeon in 1914 (*Weil wir nicht Kampfbereit sind*).

The determination to annihilate France is no new mania of Hitler or of Banse. It existed among the ungenerous victors of 1871. In 1912 Daniel Fryman wrote: "The victorious German nation will have to demand that menace from France shall cease for ever: France must be destroyed" (*Wenn ich der Kaiser wär'*). He proposes to take as much French territory as Germany covets and evacuate the French population, and to annex the French colonies. In 1905 Josef Ludwig Reiner had already elaborated a plan for wiping France off the map, leaving only a population of twenty million in the centre, permitted transitionally to retain their language and republican government, while forming part of Germany's economic territory.

Fryman held that such small States as Holland and Belgium had simply no right to exist. No State has that right unless it can maintain its independence with the sword. In fact, as Max Kahn wrote in the *Leipziger Tageblatt* of January 24, 1913, "We are not an institution for the preservation of decadent states." In the event of the annexation of large areas of France, Fryman continues, "they would as a matter of course be incorporated in Prussia, which in her treatment of her new provinces would benefit by her experience of the contumacy of her Danish, Polish, and Alsatian populations."

Nor is Banse without predecessors when he thinks of Shakespeare's England lying "at the foot of a proud conqueror." In 1913, Edmund Weber had written: "To snatch world domination from the English appears to us an aim worthy of honourable toil. Our aim is the creation of a powerful, world-embracing (welt-umspannendes) German Empire . . . if England stands in the way then let the cannon speak!" (*Krieg oder Frieden mit England?*)

When the Germans make moan over Versailles, or feel their hearts bleeding for their "blood brothers" outside the Reich, it does no harm to recall that Tannenberg had written of Great Germany's task in the twentieth century: "War should leave the conquered side nothing except its eyes to weep over its misfortune" (*Grossdeutschland: Die Arbeit des 20sten Jahrhunderts*, 1911), and to ponder on the fate that Germany was prepared to mete out to the conquered provinces of France, and their "minorities."

Kind-hearted and ingenuous people who imagine that if what they feel to be justice were done to Germany in the matter of colonies, she would leave the world at rest, will be well advised to study the able and prophetic Memorandum of Sir Eyre Crowe, drawn up in 1907.[1] If the British optimists of 1907 had listened to his voice, there might have been no Great War in 1914; if their successors of to-day will listen to it now, even at the eleventh hour, the Greater War of 1940 or 1945 or 1950 may conceivably yet be nipped in embryo. "Is it right or even prudent for England," he asks, "to incur sacrifices or see other friendly nations sacrificed, merely in order to assist Germany in building up step by step the fabric of a universal preponderance? . . . From 1884 onwards numerous quarrels arose between the two countries (i.e. Germany and Britain). They all have in common this feature—that they were acts of unmistakable hostility to England on the part of the German Government. But in spite of their indignation, successive British Governments agreed to make concessions and to accept compromises. . . .

"The action of Germany towards this country since 1890 might be likened not inappropriately to that of a professional blackmailer whose extortions are wrung from his victim by the threat of some vague and dreadful consequences in case of refusal. . . . To give way . . . may secure for the victim temporary peace, but it is certain to lead to renewed molestation and higher demands after ever-shortening periods of amicable for-

[1] *Friends of Europe*, No. 16, "The 1907 Memorandum on German Foreign Policy by Sir Eyre Crowe."

bearance. . . . There is one road which will most cer-tainly not lead to any permanent improvement of relations with any power, least of all Germany, the road paved with graceful British concessions—concessions made without any conviction either of their justice or of their being set-off by equivalent counter-services."

The whole of this masterly memorandum should be carefully studied. Hitlers may come and Kaisers may go, but the Spirit of Prussia still broods over Great Germany, and there will be no peace for the world and no release from hate and tyranny and fear for the hap-less Germans themselves, hag-ridden by the neurotic megalomania of Kaiser or Corporal, until some German prophet arises great enough to exorcise it from within.

CHAPTER XI

NAZISM AT HOME

THE extraordinary rise of National Socialism in Germany provokes the question wherein lay—and lies—the power of Hitler's appeal to the masses?

The pre War German had been educated to an intolerable arrogance and filled from his infancy with gratifying statistics. Any student of Kaiser William II's days will corroborate me when I say that half the conversation of one's contemporaries at the University took the form of "Ah, we have the strongest army in the world . . . our merchant fleet is bigger and better than yours, *our* exports . . . *our* scholars and scientists . . . *our* education . . . *our* Government . . . *our* thus . . . *our* that . . ." till to stem the flow of self-adulatory eloquence the wise foreigner took refuge in "You really *are* the most wonderful people," and his interlocutor gravely answered "I'm so glad you realise that." No flattery could be too gross for him to swallow, no irony obvious enough for him to perceive, no shaft sharp enough to penetrate the armour-plating of his conceit.

To a nation thus overcharged with self-complacency, the loss of the War came as an intolerable shock. Heroism, sacrifice, endurance, they had shown in plenty, what had gone awry? It was inconceivable that other peoples could be equally brave, equally patriotic, no less enduring. No statesmen arose to point out the weaknesses of their Prussianism, the

wrongness of their foreign policy, the blindness of their counsellors, the miscalculations of their commanders They would have torn him limb from limb if he had But Hitler came talking of November criminals, a victorious army stabbed in the back,[1] an international conspiracy of Jews This was language that soothed their vanity; these were words they could understand As Mowrer says, "The suffering German hated the Jew rather than see himself as he was"[2]

The out-of-work and the work-shy, the bankrupt bourgeois and the disgruntled officer, the discontented, the restless and the unsettled, rallied round this man of magnetic eye and voice, this orator of violent speech, who promised a new earth, a Germany greater and more glorious than before, the annihilation of all enemies, the overlordship of the world He asked blind obedience, unquestioning faith, utter devotion, but in return he restored not their self respect, which the Republic was restoring, but their comfortable and accustomed arrogance, he gave them an object for hero-worship, above all he dispensed them from the need to study facts and find where the great Prusso German machine had gone off the rails He turned their eyes from a humiliating past and directed them to a dazzling mirage on the horizon of a glorious future—and in the immediate foreground to an underdog to kick

When I was a student in Munich, I used to smile to see large notices over every pillar box adjuring the

[1] The origin of this phrase is interesting See Wheeler-Bennett *Hindenburg, the Wooden Titan*

[2] *Germany puts the Clock Back*, 1938 ed., "Penguin Special"

not to forget the address and the postage stamp, see eloquent pictures in every tram demonstrating ow to alight and how *not* to alight, to see at every turn ie docile German shepherded by one grand-paternal uthority or another, like a mentally deficient child I ttle realised in 1907 the dread implications of such locility The average German has an almost patholo-gical craving to be told what to do, to him was granted Hitler, full filled with a pathological craving to tell him As Professor Roberts neatly phrases it, "The normal German would rather salute a uniform than record a vote"

The manœuvres by which Hitler seized power in Germany are admirably recorded by Calvin B Hoover "One is compelled to admire Hitler's brilliant strategy, and to recognise that here is genius the early months of his Chancellorship provide a classic example for the conquest of political power" [1] Hindenburg's aversion notwithstanding, the "Bohemian Corporal" became Chancellor on January 30, 1933, and that same evening celebrated his triumph by a gigantic National Socialist demonstration with torchlight processions, waving swastika flags and a march past of the SA and the SS The camarilla which surrounded the aged and failing President had hoped to keep the new Chancellor in leading strings They did not know their man

Six days later came a "Law for the Protection of the German People," which muzzled all Communist or Socialist speech and writing, while Germany was flooded with Nazi propaganda in preparation for the coming Reichstag elections of March 5 Hitler was

[1] *Germany enters the Third Reich*

anxious to preserve the semblance of constitutional method, and he needed a two-thirds majority for any changes he proposed to make in the Constitution. There was a host of parties to be reckoned with. On February 27 the Reichstag went up in flames—a Communist Plot! At any rate an admirable pretext for arresting four or five thousand Communist leaders that very night, and for working up an anti-Communist panic before enquiry could be made or the suspicion arise that the Nazis had themselves fired the building, as was undoubtedly the fact.[1]

The last semi-free elections in Germany were held on March 5, 1933, and despite propaganda and arson and arrests, twelve million votes were cast for the parties of the Left and eighty-one Communist deputies returned. The National Socialists received less than 44 per cent. of the votes.[2]

On March 21 a political amnesty was declared for all National Socialist political prisoners, which set free amongst others the Potempa murderers. The new Reichstag met in Potsdam with an intimidating turn-out of SS and SA men to line streets and guard doors. The eighty-one Communists were arbitrarily prevented from taking their seats, and on March 22 the craven and depleted Assembly passed by 441 votes to 94 an Enabling Act voting all its powers into the Chancellor's hands.

Less than three weeks later judges were declared removable (April 7); on May 2 the Trade Unions were dissolved and their funds confiscated; in the same

[1] Douglas Reed: *The Burning of the Reichstag*
[2] Konrad Heiden: *The History of National Socialism.*

Goebbels was able to assert that " the National Party is the State " (the 56 per cent. of voters being already negligible), and on July 14 all other political parties were definitely proscribed.

On August 2 President Hindenburg died. According to the Constitution a new President should have been elected. Probably the vast majority even of National Socialists in Germany would have liked to see some tried and trusty non-party successor appointed to take Hindenburg's place above the Chancellor. Hitler, however, was lying in ambush. Before the Old Gentleman was cold, before news of his death had reached the public, Hitler had compelled or induced the Army to swear an unprecedented oath of personal loyalty—not to the Reich or to the Constitution, but—to " Adolf Hitler, Führer and Reichskanzler." Therewith the Presidency passed into oblivion, and the subservient Reichstag needed only to ratify the *fait accompli*.

After a " Bloodless Revolution " the Bohemian Corporal was head of a Totalitarian State, and a plebiscite in November 1933 reaped for him a yes-vote of 96·3 per cent. At that date the German could still jest, and the remark would be heard, " Ich bin ein guter Deutscher und kann wählen wie ich muss " (I am a good German and may vote the way I must).

The German people had unwittingly sold its soul to a modern Mephistopheles. In exchange, its heart is now rejoiced with 315 uniforms to salute (apart from those of the fighting forces); the Strength through Joy organisation with exemplary efficiency sees to it that

holiday camps and cruises, picnics, excursions, theatres, concerts, and art exhibitions are placed within reach of the poorest, and the drab working year is punctuated with magnificently-staged festivals and shows. Such individuals as in March 1933 were not too stunned to think, may have shuddered a little when Göring, the new Prime Minister of Prussia and Head of the Prussian Police, loudly boasted: "My business is not to do justice, but to destroy and exterminate," and issued instructions to his police: "Shoot first and enquire afterwards, and if you make mistakes I will protect you." That this was no mere outburst of exuberance in the first flush of power was proved by his speech in Essen a year later (March 10, 1934): "I am in the habit of shooting, and if I make mistakes at least I have shot."

JUSTICE

"*Justice is what serves the Interests of the German Nation.*"—Dr. H. FRANK, Leipzig, October 1933.

"*The Law and the Will of Adolf Hitler are one.*"—GÖRING

From Göring's declarations it is clear what guarantees the police-force offers to the law-abiding German subject. He is further protected by Himmler's Secret Police, the famous Gestapo (Geheime Staatspolizei), whose actions are not controlled even by the Supreme Court of removable judges. Any house may be entered and searched without a warrant; any individual arrested without a warrant and kept in custody or "protective custody" for any period without trial or explanation. The mental strain of this uncertainty,

h on the victim and on his family, must probably be
to be fully realised. If wife or relative or friend is over-zealous with enquiries, demands for trial or requests to visit, the remedy is simple. The importunate enquirer is taken into protective custody. A temperate account of what protective arrest means to the *détenu* may be read in Stefan Lorant's *I was Hitler's Prisoner*, and Wolfgang Langhoff: *Rubber Truncheon*. Lorant was an Hungarian journalist in Munich. He owed his ultimate release, after six months' detention, to the untiring efforts of his Government. Few of the Gestapo's untried prisoners have outside powers to work for them. Lorant had been editor of the *Munchner Illustrierte Zeitung*, an illustrated paper—as it might be the *Sphere* or *Illustrated London News*—which had no interest in politics. He was arrested at the instance of a bad novelist, whose work he had from time to time rejected with the customary and courteous editorial regrets. One of his fellow victims was the successful party to a long-drawn lawsuit; he was denounced by the man who had been ordered to pay damages and costs. Others were in prison at the instance of debtors, rivals, or juniors who coveted their jobs; others again were unaware of having incurred envy or made an enemy.

Members of the Party are exempt from the attentions of the Gestapo, but subject to Buch's equally vindictive and capricious Uschla (Untersuchungs- und Schlichtungsausschuss, the "Committee of Investigation and Smoothing Out") whose proceedings take the form of a summary Court-martial of which no records are kept,

and whose deeds therefore cannot subsequently be subject either to investigation or to "smoothing" out.

The ordinary criminal, sentenced in the ordinary way, has no soft time of it in the Third Reich, for Hitler's expressed policy is to make hard labour harder and penal servitude more deterrent. But even in Germany the tried and condemned criminal can at least tick off the days and weeks and months of his detention and watch the hours pass slowly towards the moment of his release. Not so the political prisoner.

The Reich of Hitler has abolished its old statutes and set up a New Penal Code under which there are no specific crimes and no fixed penalties, in which no such phrase occurs as "a fine not exceeding five pounds" or "a maximum sentence of five years." Since March 1933 in Germany "the motives and aims of offenders are to be taken into account," and any action "which injures the interests of the community" is an offence. Any deed, however criminal, if committed by a good Nazi when in a "state of distress," may be condoned, while any action, however innocent, committed by a person whom the Court cares to suspect of harbouring evil though unspoken thoughts, may be held to be a criminal. The framers of the New Code exalt it as "an offensive weapon by means of which the German nation as a whole is to be protected from public enemies." A whole new set of "crimes" has been invented for the protection of "German Honour." It is a crime to insult the German nation, the Führer, the Army, any Nazi-approved hero of the past, any more-modern Nazi-hero—Hindenburg, Horst Wessel,

, or presumably the murderers of the work-
of Potempa or the assassins of Dollfuss.

The removable judges were thus addressed by the Imperial Minister for the Co-ordination of Justice, Dr. H. Frank, at a Congress of Jurists in October 1935: "Formerly we were in the habit of asking ourselves: 'Is this right or wrong?' To-day we must frame the question in another form: 'What would the Führer say?'" or as Göring more bluntly phrases it: "The Law and the Will of Adolf Hitler are One." How terribly true this is was proved in the case of Dr. Niemoller. When at last he was brought to trial, the Supreme Court could only echo Pontius Pilate: "Behold, having examined him, we can find no fault in this man," and they ordered his discharge, but Hitler prefers Barabbas, and Dr. Niemöller, if still alive, is expiating his loyalty to God in a Concentration Camp.

After the public Reichstag trial, the course of which brought little kudos to the authorities, a new People's Court was instituted to try cases of treason, sedition, espionage, etc.[1] The majority of the judges of the People's Court are laymen, military and naval officers, commanders of the SA and the SS, and it sits behind closed doors.

As Hitler promised at the Third Party Congress: "Where the formal bureaucracy of the State proves itself unfitted to solve a problem, the German nation will step in with its more vital organisations . . . and as for opponents . . . we shall attack such elements with brutal ruthlessness . . . and not hesitate to adapt

[1] Douglas Reed: *The Burning of the Reichstag.*

them to the interests of the nation by means of th Concentration Camp "

In Deutsche Justiz, a publication of the Ministry c Justice, the ominously significant apothegm occurs " A handful of Force is better than a sackful o Justice " [1]

PARENT AND CHILD

" *The State must proclaim that the CHILD is the mos precious possession of the nation* " (*M.K.*, p 446)

Restrictions on the freedom of a parent's upbringing of his own child begin at birth The Aryan is no longer free to name the child " Joshua " for instance, for that has a Jewish ring, he should choose some Germanic name like Dietrich, Otto, or Siegfried (*The Times*, August 8, 1938) Conversely Jews must not be given Aryan names (*The Times*, August 20 and 24, 1938) Janus wittily points out in the *Spectator* that it is a pity *the parents of Dr Paul Josef Goebbels were not gifted* with greater foresight

At the age of six the child must begin to attend the State school, and from thenceforth the moulding of its thought passes out of the parents' power Its lessons are from the first directed to making it the complete and perfect little Nazi It is taught to sing Nazi songs, to greet people with " Heil Hitler ! " to wave little swastikas and cry " To arms ! " and " Germany awake ! "

Its history lessons are glorifications of war, of German

[1] An excellent exposition of present day German Law will be found in Professor Roberts *The House that Hitler Built* See also Aurel Kolnai's comprehensive and masterly study of Nazi thought *The War against the West*

"heroes"—Barbarossa, Frederick the Great, Moltke, Bismarck, Hindenburg—and the Nazi-born myths of the World War, Germany's encirclement, Versailles, the race theories of *Mein Kampf*, and the deification of Adolf Hitler.[1] Geography is taught on the same lines, and the school atlases show bold maps marking the areas inhabited by "Germans" still to be swallowed by the Reich. No school lesson but is soaked in Nazi propaganda; even arithmetic problems in the Rule of Three take the form, "if so many bombing aeroplanes . . ." Mathematics are linked up with "Defence Athletics," and school-children in the laboratories work on the "Chemistry of War Materials."[2]

Any parent suicidal enough to attempt to temper school teaching with saner conversation is in danger of being deliberately denounced by a fierce young Nazi or unintentionally betrayed by an innocent infant: "Oh, but my Daddy and Mummy say . . .", which means Gestapo and Concentration Camp for father and mother.

There can be no home teaching of religion as pre-

[1] The lengths to which the Nazi mis-teaching of History goes may be studied in the *Friends of Europe*:

No. 11. "A Nazi School History Text-book" (Professor Ernest Barker)

17. "Education under Hitler" (Vivian Ogilvie).

42 "History on a Racial Basis" (Professor Julian Huxley).

63. "A Nazi View of German History" (Professor David Muzzey, N.Y.),

and in their *Monthly Summary*, August 1938.

[2] *Observer*, July 5, 1936.

Hitler parents might still understand it. "There has arisen a new authority as to what Christ and Christianity really are—that is Adolf Hitler . . . Adolf Hitler is the true Holy Ghost," so has proclaimed Herr Kerrl Reichs Minister for Church Affairs For those who might wish at least to teach their children the words of the New Testament, there is a new Germanised version sponsored by the (then) Reichsbischof Ludwig Müller and Bishop Weidemann of Bremen, who claim to present the Sermon on the Mount in such a way that it can be "grasped by a German heart" "Blessed are the meek," said Christ, "for they shall inherit the earth" (Matt. v. 5); "Happy is he who is always a good comrade; he will make his way in the world," says the Nazi Gospel[1] This editor of the New Testament is the same Bishop Müller who in a sermon declared that "mercy" was an un-Germanic conception

Professor Ernst Bergmann of Leipzig published in 1933 *The Twenty-five Theses of the German Religion* (no doubt an intentional parallel to the Twenty-Five Points of the National Socialist Programme) Point 24 of the unalterable Nazi Programme stated that "the Party as such takes its stand on a positive Christianity", Professor Bergmann boldly and truthfully asserts that "a man who thinks he can reconcile National Socialism with Christianity is neither a true Christian nor a true National Socialist"[2]

[1] *Friends of Europe*, No 64 'The Germanisation of the New Testament" (Dr H C. Robbins, N Y)

[2] *Ibid*, No 39, "The Twenty five Theses of the German Religion' (F W Norwood D D)

From the age of six, therefore, the child's soul passes for ever from the influence of its parents to be fashioned the Nazi mould, and Christian parents have to listen to their boys chanting:

"Christus krepiere,
Hitler Jugend marschiere!" [1]

Boy and Man

If the parents are not allowed a voice in their child's education, at least they cannot complain that the State neglects the duty it has taken over from them.

Every leisure moment that the boy has left from lessons and compulsory sports is fully filled by the activities of the Nazified Boy Scouts organisations, founded in 1933, and made compulsory in 1936 (December 1). From ten to thirteen the boy belongs to the Deutsches Jungvolk, from fourteen to eighteen to the Hitler Jugend. At nineteen the young man must perform his six months of Labour Service (Arbeitsdienst), and then his two years' Military Service. Whether he then proceeds to a university, or goes into business, or works as artisan or labourer, his life is not his own, for he will become a member of the SA or the SS, of the Arbeitsfront (the National Trade Union of all employers and employed) or of the Reichsnährstand (Food Production), or of some other State-controlled organisation. At thirty-five he becomes a Reservist, and at forty-five is drafted into the Landsturm.[2] About the only thing not dictated to him is the date of his

[1] "Let Christ rot and the Hitler Youth march on!"

[2] Henri Lichtenberger: *The Third Reich*, translated by Koppel S. Pinson, 1938.

death, unless indeed he fall foul of Uschla or Gestapo

The German newspapers now forecast the formation of a Hitler Kindschaft, to be composed of children from four to nine

Admirable as are many features of the Nazi Youth organisations—the camps, the hiking, the Youth Hostels, the physical training, the sports—these material benefits are offset by the rigid regimentation of the mind Nazi propaganda is pumped into the victims from early morning till bedtime, the "spirit of attack" and the glorification of war The official Nazi song book contains scarcely an item which does not sing of swords and battle, death and glory The youth of Germany is being trained from six years old to expect war and to want war A Hitler Jugend text-book lays down that "death on the battlefield is to be regarded as a longed for conclusion of life" [1]

In the Third Reich, as Professor Toynbee puts it, "salvation and damnation depend neither on works nor on faith, but on physique," and a boy who is judged to possess markedly Aryan characteristics, fair hair, blue eyes, long head—which are rare enough in Germany—is singled out for a place in one of the fifteen Napolis or one of the thirty two Adolf Hitler boarding schools His parents may feel dismayed, but dare not refuse the honour offered to their son, nor an opportunity which may lead on to the Ordensburg or Leader College and ultimately to a high position in the State

At the age of twenty four or twenty five, picked men

[1] Douglas Reed *Insanity Fair*

the Napolis and Adolf Hitler schools, who have worked through their Labour and Army vice and have been duly married, enter one of these hree Leader Colleges for a three and a half years' raining in sports, "leadership," Nazi thought, etc., as expounded by Rosenberg or Streicher. Only the last six months are devoted to what elsewhere would be called education. These Aryan élite are destined to be the future leaders of the country, but woe betide any who falls foul of the discipline or the curriculum. An Ordensburg cadet who is cashiered will be "destroyed" (vernichtet) with wife and child.[1]

Every traveller in Germany bears witness to the physical fitness of young Germany under Hitler's regime. Professor Roberts reports the delightfully cheerful atmosphere that even propaganda could not damp, which he found in the boys' camps. He was, however, horrified to see the eagerness with which the lads fell upon the latest issue of the *Sturmer*. This anti-Semitic paper of Julius Streicher's is famous for its vile cartoons which are matched by its debased letterpress. In addition to lurid accounts of alleged Jewish debaucheries, it pillories non-Jews so lacking in right feeling that they have consulted a Jewish doctor or dealt in a Jewish shop. Human nature is strong; the sick Nazi still persists in seeking the best medical advice, the most intolerant Nazi housewife cannot resist the lure of a bargain sale (*The Times*, July 26, 1938). Sick Nazis will, however, in future have to be content

[1] See *International Affairs*, April 1938, "Training Nazi Leaders of the Future," G. A. Rowan Robinson.

with Aryan doctors, for from September 1 Jewish doctors, however eminent, are to be "eliminated from the medical profession for all time" (*The Times*, August 10, 1938). The *Stürmer* also provides its readers with paragraphs of libel on British statesmen like Anthony Eden. Streicher avers that the Führer reads every line he prints—and it is not impossible that he rightly gauges Hitler's taste—and his pornographic paper is certainly supplied to schools and camps, a paper which would not be tolerated for sale on a decent English bookstall.

On the occasion of the last Summer Solstice festival (June 25, 1938), Streicher addressed 25,000 young people on a mountain-top in Franconia: "We do not need priests and pastors. Throw your sins into these holy flames (of the Solstice bonfire) and you may descend the mountain with cleansed souls. Be beautiful, godlike, and natural!" (*The Times*, June 27, 1938). A typical pronouncement of his to a peasant gathering a day or two later ran: "The sun will not shine again for the people of the earth until the last Jew has died—that is until the last bacillus of disease has gone."

It is into the hands of teachers like this that the German parent has to surrender his son.

It remains to be seen how the mental training offered by Hitler's schemes of education will stand the wear and tear of life. At every public examination, even in the universities, a candidate's party record must be taken into account. His mathematics or languages or science may be rocky, but if he has played an active part in Hitler

gend or SS, and if he is well-grounded in *Mein Kampf*, can bid defiance to academic tests. Such professors pre-Hitler days as still hold chairs in Germany's cient and once-honoured seats of learning are oquent (when they dare be so) about the abysmal norance of the modern undergraduate. By some ersight Colonel Hilpert was allowed to print in the *rankfurter Zeitung* of January 16, 1937, a bitter com-laint of the young Nazi officers and their lack of mental iscipline: "They refuse to work out questions or prob-ms which they find difficult or do not like," he writes, they hand in blank papers or copy from another or go sick."[1] What sort of a showing will these young fficers make in Banse's "war after next"? Europe may till hope to avert that war; if not, here at least is one rumb of comfort.

Girl and Woman

The regimentation of girls is not quite so rigid, hough large numbers of them join the Bund deutscher Mädchen (the Nazi equivalent of the Girl Guides). The six months' Labour Service is compulsory only for those women who aspire to marry SS or SA officers. A woman counts little in the Nazi scheme of life except as a bearer of children; the sole aim of a girl's education should be to fit her for motherhood, and to minister in kitchen and scullery to the comfort of her menfolk. On the other hand, she can be at any moment conscripted for any type of service in any place for any length of time.

[1] Konrad Heiden: *One Man against Europe*, "Penguin Special" (forthcoming).

News

"The German has not the slightest notion how a people must be misled if the adherence of the masses is sought" —*Mein Kampf* (deleted from the twelfth (1932) and subsequent editions)

Before it was finally silenced for ever, the old *Frankfurter Zeitung* in March 1933 uttered a dying protest against the new press laws "The new regulations constitute a deprivation of liberty unheard of in German history" These were later supplemented by a further ordinance oddly entitled a "Law for the Preservation of the Independence of the German Press" (April 1935)

The Nazi control of the German Press goes in fact far beyond anything known as mere Censorship Not only what men have written is censored, but what they shall write and who they shall be who may write at all All newspaper shareholders and their wives must be able to show untainted Aryan ancestry back to 1800 Only Aryans married to Aryans (back to 1800) may work as editors or journalists Any newspaper may be closed down if the Press Chamber considers that the news reading public is adequately catered for by other publications The President of the all powerful Reichs Press Chamber is Max Amann, originally Hitler's collaborator on the *Volkischer Beobachter* and later editor of this official party organ, and director of Hitler's publishing house, the Eher Verlag Amann is thus Press Dictator over all colleagues and rivals

On Hitler's coming into power, 184 Socialist and Communist papers were at once confiscated and their plant and machinery annexed Within a year, 1,42

-party organs had ceased publication. In April 1933, the *General Anzeiger* of Dortmund was confiscated, because it reproduced a portrait of Herr Hitler by a well-known artist which was alleged to show a "distorted expression suggesting vulgarity."[1] None of the Nazi papers had been prosperous before 1933, but with the suppression of all rivals, they at least remained masters of the field, such as it was.

Stefan Lorant[2] vividly describes the procedure of taking over rival newspapers in Munich, and the Swiss journalist von Wyl,[3] in a book soon (I hope) to be translated into English, gives an unforgettable picture of life in a newspaper office under the Hitler régime. The office becomes in effect a barrack-yard; every day the editor receives express letters and telegrams from Propaganda Headquarters dictating, not only exactly what shall be said, but the manner of its presentation and even the headlines under which it must appear. One luckless journalist, Walter Schwertfeger, who indiscreetly revealed to a foreigner the instructions received, was jailed for life.[4] Von Wyl's Editor was moreover compelled to accept *and pay for* worthless articles contributed by a writer whose sole qualification for journalism was that he had been "a good fighter" in the early days of Nazism.

In these circumstances the appetite for "news" of even the docile German public not unnaturally flagged,

[1] *Banker*, February 1937. [2] *I was Hitler's Prisoner.*
[3] *Ein Schweizer erlebt Deutschland* (*A Swiss experiences Germany*), Europa Verlag, Zurich.
[4] *Manchester Guardian*, July 22, 1936.

and von Wyl records that fully 70 per cent. of readers subscribed only under official compul. Foreign newspapers are censored on entering the country, and any issues containing unwelcome ment on German affairs are confiscated. *The* confiscated three times in one week for arti "Homage to Murderers," while the *Manchester Guardi* and the *King-Hall Newsletters* are permanently

Lest a breath of fresh air from outside should reach the listening public, Goebbels has his Radio Guardians (Funkwarte) in every street and block of flats, to make sure that no forbidden programmes are received. It speaks volumes for the irrepressibility of the human spirit that prosecutions under this head are still frequent.

It is not enough that no true news is available, but no man, woman, or child is allowed to escape hearing Nazi news. For those without wireless in their homes, concert halls, inns, cafés, and places of public assembly blare it out, and public loud speakers are being installed in every town and village in Germany (*The Times*, June 24, 1938). Further, a People's Set is being threatened, the purchase of which will be in fact obligatory on all households which can by any means afford it unless they wish to incur suspicion of being "injurious to the interests of the German people."

The all-mighty Ministry of Propaganda with Goebbels at its head controls all film, theatre, and even concert programmes.

The Worker

The German worker enjoys holidays with pay and all the recreation facilities of the Kraft durch Freude

gainst these privileges he has lost his Trade Unions vith their funds) and the right to strike, and has ecome one insignificant atom amid the twenty-six illion members of the Arbeitsfront (The Work ront). This national Trade Union of Employers and mployed was to provide Confidential Councils of lasters and Men, through which the men were to have pportunity of formulating their own Factory Laws, vith Courts of Honour to uphold the Dignity of abour. But Dr. Ley has strictly laid it down that uestions of wages must not be discussed at the Council neetings.

Hitler boasts that he has laid the spectre of Unemployment. How has it been done? Partly by driving women and Jews from the labour market to starve quietly behind the scenes; partly by creating hordes of unproductive officials (it is reckoned that among civilians in Germany to-day one man in every eight wears official uniform), partly by reckoning as employed any man who works even one day a week. These devices give good statistical results. The average wage of the German worker is between 100 and 150 marks a month (£5–£7 10*s.*), over 5 per cent. of which is deducted for income-tax, health insurance, and "voluntary" contributions to the Winter Help Fund. The most recent tax on him is 5 marks a week towards a 990-mark "People's Car." He might prefer to do without a car, for only Hitler can tell how, at the present price of petrol, he is to afford to run it, but his subscription to it began from August 1 (*The Times*, August 2, 1938)

y company with a yearly income of 10,000 marks £500) has to pay a tax of 35 per cent., rising in to 40 per cent. Smaller companies are to pay 17½ 20 per cent. (*The Times*, August 2, 1938). A com- levy is raised on the entire industrial turn-over rm a fund from which unremunerative exports can subsidised by over half their selling price (whence Opel cars and similar goods dumped on the British market).

An employer privileged to employ an SA man must pay him a full wage while allowing him as much free time as attention to his SA duties demands.

The Farmer

The farmer is even less of a free agent than workman or employer. He is not only a State-servant, but a State-serf. His every field is card-indexed, and he is instructed what to sow in it and compelled to supply a fixed quantity of specified crops at fixed prices. He may not grow the crops most profitable to himself, but those most necessary to German self-sufficiency. He may neither quit his farm nor sell it. In spite of this regimentation—or because of it—the Four-Year Plan for Agriculture has failed to increase the output of the essential cereals, potatoes, and sugar, while the supply of fodder and feeding-stuffs has so gravely fallen off that it was feared that the number of first-class milch cows and laying hens was likely to be reduced by one-quarter by the end of 1937. The cost of this disastrous control of agriculture is reckoned at 30 per cent. of the value

of the agricultural produce,[1] and the imports in 193[illegible] exceeded those of 1936 by 30 per cent.[2]

The Consumer

Wholesalers have been eliminated from the food-supply service, and the retailer has become, like bulk of his fellow countrymen, a State employee. The consumer is not only rationed in his purchases of meat eggs, and fats, but told *where* he must buy them Except amongst the very poor, whose food-standard may have slightly risen, it is calculated that the average food-standard has fallen by at least 20 per cent. for all classes, and Professor Roberts anticipates that symptoms of real under-nourishment must soon be evident.[3] Germany's virtual control of the Danubian Balkan countries, acquired by the elimination of Czechoslovakia, may well solve these difficulties.

Add to this, compulsory meatless days and one-dish meals from which contributions to Winter Help are to be "voluntarily" made, and no one need envy the German hausfrau her catering problems.

The Sportsman

Physical prowess counts for more in Germany to-da than ever before. But Nazism cannot be kept even ou of sport. Kurt Münsch, on January 8, 1936, pro claimed that "the non-political athlete is unthinkable The politically blind must not be allowed to win." A

[1] *Banker*, February 1937.
[2] *The House that Hitler Built.*
[3] See also Seton Watson: *Britain and the Dictators.*

Olympic Games in Berlin, foreign correspondents ted that Hitler averted his eyes and omitted to pplaud when an event was won by one of America's egro champions. Nor, of course, must the politically nlightened be allowed to lose. The German Davis Cup team was stunned to receive a cable from Berlin ecalling them because they had lost their first three natches to Australia. Such is the Nazi conception of portsmanship.

The Tax-payer

Since 1934, Hitler's Germany has published no budget, and the tax-payer can only guess how the money wrung from him is being spent.

The first and largest item is, of course, rearmament, which is costing the German tax-payer not less than a thousand million pounds per annum. To this must be added the thirty-three million pounds being expended annually on the Autobahnen, which provoke the admiration of visitors to Germany, but which are a pure luxury except as strategic military roads.

The SA and SS organisations, with their large permanent professional cadres, cannot be costing the country less than a further twenty-two million pounds.

It is not easy to compute the cost to the State of the multitudes of officials who, under another type of Government, might be employed in productive industry. It is reckoned that half a million are employed solely in the supervision of industry, 55,000 in the Labour Front, 25,000 in the Gestapo, 4,000 in the Winter Help, all of which departments require in addi-

tion large clerical staffs.[1] A new Back-to-the-Land scheme is just being initiated, promising handsome subsidies to agricultural workers, but significantly no estimate is given of the probable cost to the Treasury (*The Times*, July 11, 1938).

The maintenance of the Reichstag and the Prussian Parliament may be accounted a costly piece of eyewash. Their members enjoy free travel facilities, and draw in addition 720 and 1,000 marks a month (say £432 and £600 per annum respectively) for exercising purely plauditory functions. The *Banker* wittily calls them the two highest-paid male-voice choirs in the world, but a job in either is a useful piece of patronage at the Führer's disposal.

No approximate figure can be given for the cost of the Hitler Jugend, the Napolis (Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalten), the Adolf Hitler Schools, the Ordensburgs, the sinister Concentration Camps, nor of the luxury expenditure incurred on May Day Festivals, Solstice Festivals, on Congresses and world-impressing shows like the Olympic Games. The upkeep of the Brown Houses cannot be negligible, and the expenditure on the Party Estate in Nuremberg would certainly not be sanctioned by any rational House of Commons. Miles of well-laid-out road, 100 yards wide, lead out from the town. There is a Party Palace surrounded by gardens and equipped with three assembly halls to seat 2,000, 5,000, and 60,000 people respectively, and a stage to take 5,000 performers.

[1] These are the authoritative figures given by the *Banker* (February 1937) for the end of 1936. None of the items is likely to be less for 1938.

are two railway stations, water, drainage, and installations for 300,000–400,000 people, two storey hotels for guests of the Führer, and a tribune to seat 70,000. All this immense luxury-accommodation stands idle for fifty-one weeks in the year, in order that the Leader may have a sufficiently imposing setting for his annual Parteitag.

There are other items impossible to compute: What is the annual cost to the tax-payer of the inefficiency of the Nazi administrators and the unnecessary overlapping of departments? Professor Roberts reports convincingly on the reams of paper and quarts of ink expended on inter-departmental correspondence, the sole result of which is to delay business, and the kilometres of red tape (or its German equivalent) in which the officials are entangled. It is known that the Winter Help and Land reclamation schemes are costing more and effecting less than under the Republic. Still less can any estimate be made of the sum expended on the Nazis' wideflung net of oversea organisations, on agitation, bribery, and espionage nor of the loss to revenue of the corruption that dogs the steps of an autocracy and from which the Nazi régime is no more immune than any of its prototypes.

It is too early to estimate what the Austrian Anschluss and the administration of this new province of Great Germany is going to cost, or whether the upkeep of extra Concentration Camps, the persecution of the Jews, the reorganisation of the State will be offset by the theft of Austria's gold reserves (which were three times as great as those of the Reich) and the confisca-

tion of Jewish properties. Nor will it for some time be possible to estimate how the annexations from Czechoslovakia will affect Germany's finances.

Relatively unimportant to the Budget total, but irritating to the thrifty German mind, is the personal extravagance of the Nazi bigwigs, whose salaries, allowances, and so forth are discussed and voted by no assembly. The costly ostentation of Göring's wedding to the actress Emmy Sonnemann, at which the wedding presents were estimated to have cost £78,000, attracted no little attention, and if it provoked little public comment—well, there is the Gestapo with its spies everywhere and its ear to the telephone. The German has learnt to hold his tongue. Another thing that does not escape notice is the Nazi leaders' habit of exchanging costly gifts of lands and country houses. If we could conceive the Reichstag playing the part of our House of Commons, some pretty questions would appear on the order paper; first among them perhaps: What is the value of estates and investments held in foreign countries by the Führer, Göring, Goebbels and Co, at a time when the private citizen who makes a foreign investment is punished with death? Second might be: How many Concentration Camps are being maintained and how many are detained in each; in all, how many people in Germany at this moment are being kept in indefinite custody without trial?

How does the Fuhrer keep his Grip?

Five years ago, less than half the inhabitants of Germany wanted Hitler and his National Socialists If

later plebiscite- and election-figures had any value, Gestapo and Concentration Camp would obviously not be necessary. We may therefore safely assume that a far smaller percentage of adult Germany want the Nazis in power now. Assuredly no Socialist, Social-Democrat, Communist, Jew, Protestant, or Roman Catholic can be happy under their régime. How does the Leader keep his power? The next chapter will supply a partial answer. The rest of the answer is that his propaganda has genuinely convinced Germany that a ring of enemies is lurking to destroy her, and that Hitler's tyranny offers her sole hope of survival.

The Germans do not know, they have no means of knowing, that France is not planning their destruction, that Britain is not conspiring with the Jews to establish a world dominion (a cry which Hitler has even taught Mussolini to take up)[1]; they do not and cannot know that if Hitler would cut down armaments by three-quarters or even by one-half, they could have ample raw materials for their industries and ample revenue from honest exports to buy their needed food supplies, that there is no need for them to tighten their belts and have starvation-nightmares. They do not know that there is no such thing as an "encirclement" of Germany save the ring fence she has herself erected to the greater majesty, might, dominion, and power of Adolf Hitler. They do not know that the paper money they circulate among themselves has no more real value than the cowrie shells of an African savage, that the whole elaborate structure of differently-valued marks—

[1] *The Times*, August 15, 1938.

blocked marks, travel marks, "aski" marks, twenty-five or thirty different kinds of marks—which only Dr. Schacht, their ingenious manipulator, can understand, is fraudulent. They do not know that if they would drop their home-created war-scare and their Prussian yearning for a world-embracing empire, they could be the wealthiest, best-fed, most prosperous nation in a peaceful Europe.

It is futile as well as self-righteous to blame them. Professor Roberts, sane Australian and lover of pre-Hitler Germany, has borne witness that, after a few months in the Nazi Reich and even one attendance at the Nüremberg Parteitag, he found himself beginning to believe in Hitler's delirium tremens. How far the Fuhrer knows that these blue devils are of his own creation, how far his own original neuroses have mastered his reason and he has himself become a prey to the hysteria he set out to induce in his adopted fellow-countrymen, possibly the psychologist of the future will be able to determine, but assuredly no contemporary.

As long as Hitler lives and walks among his people as their "Redeemer" who has "taught the youth of the country to die for the Reich,"[1] as long as his posters adjure German babies to "save your pennies for Air Defence and live to grow up!" so long will fear keep Germany his slave. But Konrad Heiden pertinently asks, Is the Führer not perhaps overrating the nervous endurance of his people: for how many years can a nation live in such a state of tension?

[1] Chorus of Guardsmen broadcasting (1937).

CHAPTER XII

THE GREATER TERROR

PRISON AND CONCENTRATION CAMP

"We shall attack [opponents] with brutal ruthlessness, and shall not hesitate to adapt them to the interests of the nation by means of the Concentration Camp."—ADOLF HITLER.

WHAT Hitler's word is worth in the ordinary way we have abundantly seen. In one context alone has he kept it. He vowed to pursue all opponents—with ruthless brutality; none can say that he has broken that promise.

Let me first tell an unsensational story of which I have direct knowledge. Two well-to-do brothers, business men—let us call them Max and Moritz—lived in a certain town in Germany. They were active Social Democrats under the Republic, and were promptly imprisoned when Hitler came to power. After a few days they were released on payment of a heavy fine; in Max's case £2,000 and six new motor-cars for the use of the SA. Whether this was a contribution to the State or a bribe to the SA Commander Max neither knew nor cared. He walked prudently thereafter and was left for a while unmolested. Moritz was either wealthier or less discreet. He was re-arrested time after time and released on payment till he was reduced to absolute beggary. One day he disappeared. Neither brother nor wife could get news of his whereabouts nor of his offence. For three years—silence. One morning Moritz's corpse was found on

Max's doorstep The family doctor was called The once strong and healthy body was worn and emaciated, but the immediate cause of death was not privation Moritz had been flogged to death They buried him quietly, not daring to make enquiries nor to lodge a protest Max felt that Germany henceforth was no place for him, he decided to take his family away before a like fate overtook any more of them He was fortunate enough to get a passport He had to leave his prosperous business, his houses, his investments, his bank accounts thankful to escape with his wife and children—and his life Of a large fortune he was allowed to take only £2 000 abroad on which to keep the family until they could find a home and work

While Frau Max was packing, two officials stood over her, arbitrarily exclaiming You can't take that" She was forbidden to take a small box containing amongst other trinkets an old fashioned garnet necklace of sentimental value A little later one of the officials, apparently relenting brought it back, and she gratefully thrust it in On the last day, when all their preparations were complete, Max and his wife went to take a cup of coffee in a familiar cafe for the last time A lady at an adjacent table was wearing the garnet necklace The jewel box had been rifled before it was restored

Though not Jews, the family made their way first to Palestine, and there their first act was to purchase tickets for America while funds still availed Work they could not find The balance of their dwindling capital they rationed out to last the eighteen months or

- that must elapse before the hoped for permit for the U S.A could be procured

Mearume, Max's eldest girl, Greta, let us say, a medical student, who was too old to travel on her father's passport, remained behind to take a pending examination She was allowed to draw some of her father's money, but her steps were dogged all day and every day, and each night she had to account for every penny spent and was not allowed to save anything, still less to send away Greta was continuously beset by Nazi propagandists urging her to join the Party, and painting in glowing colours the rosy future Germany offered to "a fine young girl like you," if only . . When her examination was over she could no longer bear the strain She packed up (under supervision) and joined her parents in Palestine, to find them, as she had feared, in acute want She succeeded in getting work as a servant, and added her pound a week to their resources There was an Englishman in Palestine and Greta is now a happily married English wife

In our secure English homes, guarded by the Habeas Corpus Act and an incorruptible police, let us stop a moment to think what it means a disappearance, three years of silence, a body flogged to death, no enquiry, no redress, spying and police supervision, penury and life long exile—all these the penalty of innocent political opinion

There are men and women arrested before March 1933 whom the Nazis intend never to release, their sole offence their politics or their race None has been accused, none has been tried, some have been executed

or murdered, some linger on, Thälmann (best known abroad) among them Edgar André and his wife were each kept in solitary confinement for three and a half years; he was executed in November 1936 Of most, none knows the fate In many cases their women have been held for years as hostages Frau Martha Claus, learning that her husband was to be executed (October 1935), begged for a last interview, she disappeared into a Concentration Camp

Not only men but women are tortured to make them betray their comrades, husband and wife have been made to stand and watch each other being stripped and flogged [1]

The Editor of von Wyl's paper became head of the local Gestapo, and asked the Swiss journalist to dinner In his cups he spoke of a political agitator who had just been arrested, and chuckled with half-drunken glee "Luckily we have one sure and radical little formula, 'shot while trying to escape'. You read that the Jewish swine So-and-So committed suicide in the Concentration Camp? Well, so he did There was nothing else for him to do They had orders to maltreat him by every means in their power till he elected voluntarily to take a leap into Abraham's bosom! Ha! Ha!" The pregnant phrases, which struck von Wyl dumb with horror, have become almost commonplaces

[1] See the files of the *Manchester Guardian* since 1933 notably March 13 and 26 April 1, May 12 August 7, September 7, October 8 1936, April 1, 1937, April 12, June 21, July 1, 27, and 28, 1938

Visitors to Concentration Camps who report their favourable impressions and actual conversations with the prisoners, are shown, of course, only the "show pieces," and the prisoners are well aware of the fate that awaits them if they do not assert that their treatment is excellent and the food delightful.

We have, however, solemnly-sworn statements by a few of the luckier people who have escaped, which give the lie to these visitors' accounts. Painful and sleep-destroying as the reading of them is, it is a duty no honest mind should shirk, for here is the answer to "How does Hitler keep his hold on Germany?", here is what Nazism in practice really means.[1]

It must be remembered that the victims held in Brown House cellars, in Gestapo prisons, and in Concentration Camps are not criminals, but political *détenus*; that they are not brought to trial; that their detention is of indefinite duration, and that no statistics are available as to their numbers. That the numbers run into many, many thousands, we know; and that they are increasing. The *Manchester Guardian* of August 2, 1937, reported forty new Concentration Camps being erected.

All reports agree that prisoners in the hands of the pre-Hitler police are treated with some humanity, but

[1] Gerhart Seger: *Oranienburg* (unfortunately not available in English). Von Wyl: *Ein Schweizer erlebt Deutschland*. Wolfgang Langhoff: *Rubber Truncheon*, translated by Lilo Linke. Stefan Lorant: *I was Hitler's Prisoner*, translated by James Clough. Kurt Ludecke: *I Knew Hitler*. "Buchenwald, A Prisoner's own Story," in *Time and Tide*, August 20, 1938.

they at once pass into, if they do not begin, in the charge of the SA or the even more dreaded, black-uniformed SS, with the skull and cross-bones on their caps

When a batch of prisoners is brought to a Concentration Camp, a usual procedure is to keep them standing for two, four, six, even ten hours at a stretch—waiting—and then to leave them three days without food After that they are put through a course of punitive drill, being made to hold the "knees-bent" position for minutes instead of seconds, hounded round the prison yard at the double with parcels and suitcases in their hands, lashed with staves or rubber truncheons if they flag, alternatively they are given a Nazi flogging face, back, legs, arms, and hands—that will leave them immobilised and in torment for weeks They are thrown to recover, or not, on the stone floor of a cell or at best on a plank bench Many lose an eye, the hearing of an ear, or their front teeth Many die "from natural causes" Such camp doctors as there are are of the same breed as the floggers Any consultation ends in a verdict of malingering The doctor's sole function is to provide the death from natural-causes certificate

The exact method of procedure varies according to the whim of the operators Sometimes the prisoner is thrashed as he sits, sometimes he is flung to the ground, sometimes he is made to stand against the wall, sometimes he is trussed to a triangle—it matters little What never varies is the merciless severity of the beating and the delight of the audience, for these terrible scenes are rarely the outbursts of one insane sadist

such as may from time to time be found in any society), but the organised entertainment of bodies of degraded SA and SS men Sometimes the tormentors jump on the prostrate body, sometimes they stamp with their nailed boots on the outflung hands To add to his humiliation the victim is sometimes given half a pint of castor oil that he may inevitably foul his clothing and the floor

At Oranienburg, No 16 was the so-called Interrogation Room A prisoner would be fetched out at dead of night for a cross-examination The infamous Krüger would go through the farce of asking questions With mental agony the victim would try to remember dates and facts, imagining perhaps that his fate hung on them Was the answer wrong? blows rained on face and head and shoulders Was the answer right? blows rained just the same Did he refuse to answer? blows He had been brought there to be thrashed, not to be interrogated, but the interrogation-pretext added spice to the enjoyment of his torturers

One sturdy workman was beaten till his kidneys were a pulp. he died next day, another till his heart gave out death from natural causes One man was suffering from a broken spine, and had at all times to wear a supporting corset He was bidden "Sit down! Stand up!" at speed, and beaten for lack of promptitude "Sit!" was again commanded, and a humorist withdrew the chair and sent the spinal cripple crashing full weight on the ground

The dormitories at Oranienburg were the original cooling-chambers of a brewery At first the prisoners

lay on the cement floor with a sack of straw as mattress and two thin empty sacks to cover them Even in summer the vault was icy and water dripped from the walls, soaking and rotting the "mattresses" As numbers poured in, the two spare sacks were taken away and three tiers of wooden shelves were fixed along the side walls to serve as beds In such a vault, with only one small window at one end for ventilation, 138 men were herded together with three cubic metres of air-space apiece, and no heating even in December For several months the washing arrangements consisted of one pump for 1,100 people The food was flavourless, monotonous, and entirely insufficient On this miserable diet the prisoners were daily sent to work from seven to five, draining marshes, digging canals, cutting timber, or building roads There was often a long preliminary tramp When they returned they would be kept standing at attention for two hours for a so-called roll-call, before getting their scanty evening meal During their nominal free time constant interruptions were devised for them, errands to run, jobs to do, anything to prevent a rest or the luxury of a little peace At nights their sleep was broken by lights burning, sentries tramping, and summonses to Room 16

The night interrogations were not the sole amusement of their guards, on no shadow of a pretext batches would be hauled out for punishment drill or the "obstacle race" Schäfer, the Commandant, rarely wielded a truncheon himself, but he delighted in inflicting extra punishments—the stoppage of posts, of smoking, of visits, or the dark cell He had a pretty

ination. The "obstacle race" was a special invention of his own. The victim had first to leap through iron horizontal bars, then scale a ten-foot wall and jump a wide ditch. Next came a long, low, narrow tunnel, 12 feet long and 2 feet 7 inches high which he must crawl through. This was fitted with transverse planks alternately projecting up from the floor and down from the roof. Finally, a deep ditch had to be crossed by balancing along a narrow plank. The competitors were driven round and round with blows, uncounted times, regardless of age or infirmity, at the caprice of the master of the ceremonies. Indeed, like the fatigue-drill gangs, they were chosen by preference from men crippled and aching from a recent beating or otherwise physically unfit.

Four workmen of Friedrichstal had incurred a special grudge. They were set marching at 6 a m. barefoot round the paved courtyard; all through the blazing heat of a summer's day they marched till their feet were bleeding tatters—seventeen hours in all.

The dark cells were stone-floored cubicles painted black inside, with only such light and air as came from a small grill in the door At most they could hold three or four men, but fourteen were crowded in, and would be kept there twenty-three hours out of the twenty-four, for four and a half weeks The oldest of the Friedrichstal men was confined for twenty-eight days in such a cell after his seventeen-hour march This form of "strict arrest" was too luxurious Schäfer invented the upright, stone coffin.. The floor-space of this cell was less than 2 feet × 2 feet 6 inches.

A man could just stand upright, unable to stoop, unable to move leg or arm, bearing the whole weight of his own body in one unalterable position After fourteen hours of it, he emerged half mad, his legs and feet swollen out of recognition, his knees cut to pieces from sagging against the stone Neumann spent eight days and eight nights in one of these stone coffins. A variant of the stone coffin idea was to chain wrists to ankles for days at a time

A man would be thrashed, taken half dead to a cell, made attach a halter to a hook provided, while the warder left him with a recommendation to lose no time in using it Every step outside might portend another flogging, and at intervals the cover of the peephole would be shot back with the mocking question 'What, not hanged yet?' One man in Oranienburg was flogged nine nights in succession till he attempted suicide

Physical torture was not the only form of fun the jailers allowed themselves Every kind of mental torment was added When a man was arrested his house was searched and all valuables confiscated cash motor car, bicycle, typewriter, camera, etc, the furniture and china smashed to atoms, the bank account sequestrated He was led off knowing that his wife and children were left homeless and penniless, knowing that relations and neighbours could succour them only at the risk of bringing similar vengeance on their own heads They were reduced to beggary and starvation, no lodging house would dare to take them in, no employer dare to offer them work At best the wife might

get a few shillings a week relief; more often nothing Knowing that her husband was half starved on prison ıte, she would save out of what she could beg, to send .m food and to pay the fare on the rare visiting days \ visiting day would be announced, and sometimes can-elled without due notice or explanation, leaving the dis-racted women to stare at the notice on the gate "No visitors to-day"—after perhaps an eight-hour journey.

At the lonely and desolate Borgermoor Camp, standing miles from anywhere amongst the moors and swamps, an omnibus-load of wives one day drew up The men were herded back into their huts that none might know whose wife had come From 8 a.m. till 2 that afternoon the wives hung about outside the barbed wire in dire uncertainty At last they were allowed five minutes' conversation, across the wire, in presence of the guards Most could find no word to say, but silently stroked each other's hands In the next outgoing letter every prisoner was compelled to insert that no more visiting would be allowed

A few wives go mad, a few commit suicide, but the vast majority deserve the dedication to them of Seger's book "to the heroic and faithful wives and mothers of the prisoners"

Such discreet letters as may be received or sent—at best once a month—are often torn up unsent or undelivered, without the victim's being told of the confiscation Another pleasant device is to interlard incoming letters with ribald or obscene remarks and commentaries, while prisoners are forced to write to dictation statements wholly at variance with their convictions

Many men in the Concentration Camps are
At Börgermoor they were allowed to get up genuine spontaneous entertainments in their spare time, whi added a gleam of pleasure to their life and to that of SS guard. At Oranienburg, on the other orchestra and choir were simply made into form of "fatigue." To reassure outsiders, the Co mandant, Schäfer, gave a wireless talk telling how pleasant life was in the Camp. The orchestra played, the choir sang, and he concluded: "This, ladies and gentlemen, is the end of our programme. You have had a glimpse into the singing and playing Concentration Camp, Oranienburg." This in the hearing of me who had endured his floggings, performed his punish ment drills, lain in his dark cells, run his "obstacl races," and stood in his stone coffins.

A squad of "Messrs. the M.P.'s" was formed, equipped with ladders, brushes, sponges, and buckets, and ordered out to clean up the town of Oranienburg and remove all traces of election posters, etc. (We have recently seen this form of entertainment perfected at the expense of the Jews of Vienna) The local papers were made to publish the announcement with details; the punitive procession would start from the Town Hall at a given hour, and the Camp authorities confidently counted on the presence of a jeering mob. But Oranienburg rose to the occasion. Not one man, woman, or child turned up to see the sight. The exhibition fell flat, and a gleam of undreamed-of comfort warmed the prisoners' hearts.

Fritz Ebert, son of the first President of the German

public, and Heilmann, Parliamentary Leader of the cial Democrats, and other important prisoners, re received at Oranienburg. They were made to rip to the skin in front of the SS and mocked and viled in the foulest manner. Their heads were aved, but a few idiotic tufts were left on Ebert's head o make him look ridiculous. Filthy rags were given hem to put on, while their own clothes were flung to he Communist prisoners, many of whom, to do them ustice, refused to accept them. The "bosses" were hen paraded in front of the other prisoners and overwhelmed with abuse. Ebert and Heilmann were later sent on to Börgermoor to provide entertainment for guards and prisoners. They were kept standing at attention for three hours, then forced to run, and tripped up as they ran. Then taken to each hut in turn to be introduced to the inmates formed up in line outside. Ebert was made to recite: "I am Friedrich Ebert, son of the traitor Ebert." So great was the natural dignity of the man, dirty rags and tufted hair and lying litany notwithstanding, that bitterly as the Communists in old days had hated the less-Left Social Democrats, his new Communist comrades respectfully lowered their eyes in silent sympathy and refused to gloat, as they were meant to do, over his humiliation. Ebert proved himself a man. He refused to flog his fellow-prisoners when bidden, and won himself the respect even of the brutalised SS and a warm place in the hearts of the Communists of the Camp.

Not so poor Heilmann. He was of lesser moral stature, and cringed before the SS bullies, who re-

warded him by redoubling their insults They made him crawl through a dog-kennel and sing "I am as treacherous as a cat—miaou, miaou—I bark like a dog —bow-wow" He was walking quite slowly one day when they fired fifteen or twenty shots into him, but succeeded only in shattering his kneecap

Of the eighty to one hundred shifting SA men in Oranienburg, Seger could find only two to mention who, as far as they dared, showed some human consideration for the prisoners Yet he believes that the other petty Hitlers were not suffering from inborn evil qualities, but had simply been reared according to the Fuhrer's command to carry out his "brutal ruthlessness" Sadism crops up sporadically amongst neurotics anywhere, a decent society keeps it in check, and the man afflicted with it may live to a respected age without suspecting the barbarities of which he would be capable But if given opportunity for indulgence, the impulse grows with what it feeds on, and, worse still, it can infect those in contact with it Was it not Robespierre who, as a petty judge in Bordeaux, shuddered to sign his first death-warrant? These SA tyrants were loafers, corner-boys, out-of-works, the dregs of a city population who joined Hitler's ranks, not from any political conviction, still less from any idealism or love of country, but solely as an alternative to unemployment These "chosen educators of the German People," as the Fuhrer calls them, who are bidden to "adapt" their fellow-citizens to the new régime, do not read even the *Völkischer Beobachter*, yet power of life and death and torment worse than death

placed in their hands, and they are taught to glory deeds which sicken the reader.

Oranienburg had a bad name even among the Con- Camps. I have quoted from Seger's account it at some length, because it is the sworn testimony a man who was four times a member of the Reichs- g and because it cannot be read in English.

Lorant, Langhoff, and von Wyl prove, however, that he same type of conduct prevails in the other prisons ınd Concentration Camps, and varies only according to outward circumstance.

Hut 11 at Börgermoor vied with Room 16 at Oranienburg for horror. One old Jew of sixty-three was flogged every day for six weeks, fed every second day only, and compelled to receive his daily torturers on his knees reciting an epicure's menu he was supposed to have enjoyed. His bed was a plank bench of transverse slats, and he was compelled to write orders on his cycle store for the issue of free bicycles to the SS, to sign statements accusing himself of bribery and corruption, and to make his will in favour of some "Aryan." Yet he would not die. Worst of all, a terrified young Pole was coerced into taking a hand in the thrashings. This wretched boy was tortured himself till he went insane.

Langhoff gives a sample which he himself witnessed of the shot-while-trying-to-escape technique. A Breslau workman had attracted the peculiar enmity of the SS. After a bout of extra maltreatment he was back at work on the moors again. One SS man bade him leave his spade behind in the trench. When he joined his gang without the spade another SS man

for his "imperishable services," expressing in possessing such a friend and fellow-fighter. the outset of Nazidom, Röhm had been the of the Sturm Abteilung; but he was too sful He had, in 1934, three million drilled and SA men at his back. He was too zealous; wanted to see his SA divisions bodily incorporated the Germany Army The Army Chiefs justifiably their support was vital to the Führer. öhm's ability and zeal had become a menace; the tail uld not be allowed to wag the dog There followed Night of the Long Knives, June 30 1934

Hitler himself led the party that arrested Röhm In night all the major SA leaders and a host of smaller murdered, that the SA might without opposition reduced to a quarter of a million Hitler spread the y of a plot—a plot as non-existent as the Reichstag lot—and asserted that his prompt massacre had saved Germany The Army applauded—the Führer needed heir applause—President Hindenburg, senile, bewildered and deluded, congratulated, and Hitler proudly declared "During those twenty four hours the Supreme Court of the German People was I"

He promised to bring proofs of the plot, but the Reichstag trial had demonstrated how dangerously difficult it is to concoct convincing proofs, and people waited, and still wait, in vain The Führer admitted that a few mistakes had been committed, and promised to look into such cases, but conveniently forgot this promise also, and the private jealousies and petty spites that vented themselves in the murders of that memor-

able night went unatoned The official number of the dead was 76 Douglas Reed has reason to believe that it was 1,176 In many cases the murdered men thought they were the victims of an anti Nazi plot and died with the cry of Heil Hitler ! on their lips The only intimation many families had of the murder of their sons was the receipt of a parcel of their ashes

The most ominous thing about the Bartholomew Night of June 30 was the phrase of Rudolf Hess, Hitler's Private Secretary "In that night the Fuhrer established an awe inspiring precedent" The worst was the base attack that Hitler made on the memory of his friend Rohm's homosexuality had been obvious for ten years, but Hitler had found therein no bar to his intimacy Now he raked the muck-heap over to save his face Mussolini, not yet a satellite, justly characterised the Nazi Government as one of "assassins and pederasts"

* * * * *

Throughout the Reich of Great Germany no private person feels safe Letters are opened, telephones tapped, friendships, visits, conversations spied upon. Anyone may avenge a fancied slight or a trifling injury by a denunciation In a thousand ways each petty demi god can "get at" an innocent man or woman and arrange a labour conscription, the billeting of troops, the commandeering of property or what not, if nothing worse The very walls have ears, the Gestapo is everywhere, the Concentration Camp looms ahead for the unwary

Denunciation has reached such a pitch that recently in Vienna a reward of £4 was offered to any person denouncing a false denouncer (*Observer*, July 3, 1938).

"Hitler for Freedom!" they were crying in Cologne in 1932. They have got their Hitler; where is their freedom? While the Führer's underlings revel in unisputed power over all under their authority, they remble before the Uschla as their less-privileged fellow countrymen before the Gestapo, and must dream often of that "awe-inspiring precedent," and wonder when another Purge is due.

If the real Germany is ever to re-emerge, the non-Prussian Germany of learning, culture, and goodwill, the Germany of scholars and scientists who cared for Truth for Truth's sake, of honest merchants and kindly families, the Germany so many of us knew and loved, it can do so only when Nazi Germany has been taught that the world of Democracy is mightier than the world of Dictators, that the less-militarised peoples are at need willing to die for ideals of freedom, justice, and mercy.

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News Chronicle
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Time and Tide
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"SPECIALS"

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January 1939

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28 SEP 1970	709		